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*The first printed
English New Testament*

William Tyndale, Edward Arber

506.02
1871



FACSIMILE TEXTS.

THE FIRST PRINTED
ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT.

TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHED FROM THE UNIQUE FRAGMENT, NOW IN
THE GRENVILLE COLLECTION, BRITISH MUSEUM.

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

London:

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY.

15 FEBRUARY, 1871.

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29.123.

TO THE
REV. JAMES STRATTEN.

IN PERPETUAL TESTIMONY
OF HIS
Sacred Eloquence,
Wight and Insight in the Scriptures,
AND A
Most faithful and fruitful Ministry
of upwards of Forty-two Years,
THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY
INSCRIBED.

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The First Printed English New Testament.

TRANSLATED BY
WILLIAM TYNDALE.

"THE true seruant and Martyr of God . . . Who for his notable paynes and trauell may well be called the Apostle of England in this our latter age."—JOHN FOX; *Actes and Monuments*, p. 1224, *Ed.* 1570.

He "put forthe certaine bookes of the olde Testament and the hole newe Testament, into the Englyshe tongue . . . whereby sence thankes be geuen to God, the dore of lyght into the scriptures, hath and dailie is more and more opened unto vs, the whiche before was many yeares closed in darkenes."—ANONYMOUS WRITER: *Idem*, p. 514, *Ed.* 1563.

PREFACE.

WITH reverence, almost with awe, we here offer to the reader the photographic likeness of a priceless gem in English literature. It is the *unique* Fragment of that first and fontal edition of the English New Testament, to which Mr. Anderson refers as "the veritable origin of all those millions of English Scriptures now being read in so many different and distant parts of the globe—parts, utterly unknown to our immortal Translator, when he sent the sheets to the press—parts, then untrodden by any Englishman—parts, then undiscovered."¹

The first PRINTED portions of any part of the English Scriptures were the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, probably separately printed by Tyndale, somewhere on the Continent,² in 1524-5. While there is abundant evidence of the former existence of these two Gospels, no copies of them whatever are now known to be extant. After these, in time, came simultaneously his first two editions of the New Testament—one in Quarto, with glosses or marginal notes; the other in Octavo, without glosses—one of which, perhaps both, were in England in March 1526. Of the Quarto édition, there is only the Fragment, here photo-lithographed, known; of the Octavo, there is one perfect text in the library of the Baptist College at Bristol, and a portion of another in that of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. These three copies, all denuded of their title pages, are the earliest impressions of any portion of the printed Bible in the English tongue, now known to be in existence.

¹ 'Annals of the English Bible,' vol. i., p. 74, *Ed.* 1845.

² The Rev. R. Demaus, who is writing a *Life of Tyndale*, which is to appear this year, has noticed that no printer is known to have been at Hamburg about these years.

Looking over the present photo-lithographed Text, the reader will readily mark the total absence of all those distinctions which have always been used for the separation of books, and the discernment from each other of their several editions. It wants the names of TRANSLATOR or EDITOR, of the PRINTER, and the PLACE of printing, together with the DATE of printing. As we now have it, it is an unowned, unavowed fragment of black letter English. There is however an accumulation of evidence, perfectly overwhelming, which assures us, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that this fragment is verily and indeed a part of the *earliest* edition of the *New Testament*, ever printed in the English language. It is our duty here to exhibit this evidence.

At the outset, however, we must limit this testimony to these first two editions only. Afterwards came 'thicker and threefold' into England, editions both of the New Testament and of the Bible. Some of these attempted an accurate authenticity, being produced solely from a love to God and Truth; others were surreptitiously and often carelessly produced by speculators, for the mere sake of money. All these can only be rightly analysed and adjudged in a thorough and complete 'History of the English Bible, both manuscript and printed.' A work yet to be written; though the way has been made smoother by such pioneers as Rev. J. FORSHALL, Sir F. MADDEN; Revs. J. LEWIS, H. COTTON, D.C.L., Canon B. F. WESTCOTT; Messrs. LEA WILSON, C. ANDERSON, G. OFFOR, F. FRY, and others. Such a work would be based upon deep sacred interest. It would record a marvellous story of human heroism and self denial, of untiring effort and labour. It would catalogue all known editions, all accessible early copies, and point out their various differences. And, with it, would be largely interwoven the political and social history of what may be looked upon as our Biblical Century—that hundred years, roughly speaking, of incessant Biblical translation and revision, which was crowned with that literary marvel, the present authorized version. What Froude has done for the Court and Political History of our Reformation; what Macaulay for twenty years later on in our National History; might, with even a more interesting subject—the most interesting of all literary subjects to many—be done for the Story of the Word of God in English. Is any man so bold, so earnest, so devout, as to attempt this work?¹

In adducing this Testimony from original sources, and in eliminating it from the confusion of many conflicting and perplexing statements, it will be convenient to quote each passage, once for all, in its principal place; though it may occasionally anticipate somewhat in time, or contain extraneous matter.

¹ Such a worker may consult with advantage the manuscript transcripts and notes of Mr. Offor, no *Add. MSS.* 26,670-5, in the British Museum.

We may group the evidence—

AS IT RELATES TO THE FIRST TWO EDITIONS.

AS IT VERIFIES THE FRAGMENT, HERE REPRODUCED.

As to the two editions, it may be arranged under—

- I. *William Tyndale's antecedent career.*
- II. *The printing at Cologne.*
- III. *The printing at Worms.*
- IV. *William Roy's connection with these editions.*
- V. *The landing and distribution in England.*
- VI. *The persecution in England.*

As relates to the existing fragment ; there is possibly, only—

- VII. *Typographical and Literary evidence.*

We must also premise, that, in judging of moral actions by the use made of money, we have followed the usual estimate, in a matter so hard to determine absolutely ; that the multiple of Fifteen approximately represents the increased power of the same standard coin in purchasing the necessities of life (food, raiment, rent, books, and the like), in the reign of Henry VIII., as compared with the present day. So that £10 then, represents £150 now ; 16s. 4d. then, £12 5s. 0d. now ; and so on. We have inserted the modern equivalent, upon this estimate, within [], after every sum mentioned.

I. *William Tyndale's antecedent Career.*

1. Tyndale is believed to have been born either at STINCHCOMB or NORTH NIBLEY, in the hundred of Berkeley, in the county of Gloucester, not earlier than 1484-6 ;¹ where his family, during the wars of the Roses, had for a time adopted, probably for the sake of concealment, the name—variously spelt—of *Hutchins* or *Hotchyns*.

2. The authority for the early life of our great Englishman is John Fox ; in the editions of his *Actes and Monumentes*, etc., published during his lifetime, viz., 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583 ; and in the account partly extracted therefrom and prefixed to *The Workes of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes*, 1573, fol.

¹ Mr. Oade-Roberts, of Painswick [*d.* 1821] in Lysons' *Topog. Coll.* *Add. MSS.* 9458. *Plut.* fol. 63-66 ; in the British Museum. Mr. Roberts thought that Richard Tyndale, who purchased, in

1561, the estate of Melksham's Court, Stinchcombe, from Thomas, Lord Wentworth, was the Translator's nephew.

A comparison of these editions evidences two narratives. The earlier one is a brief and graphic Memorandum,—probably more correct as to the sequence of events—written from memory by a confidential friend, who had his information from Tyndale's own lips, probably during his stay in London: which Memorandum evidently preserves the very words of Tyndale. The later account is written impersonally, and amplified after Fox's vehement manner. We here place the two side by side.

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

Fox gives the following summary of Tyndale's career; which may be taken as expressing his own estimate of the Translator.

This good man William Tyndall the faithfull minister and constant martyr of Christe, was borne vpon ye borders of wales, and brought vp euen of a childe in the vniuersitie of Oxford,¹ being alwayes of moste vpright maners and pure lyfe. This man as soon as he had receyued some taste and sauour of the diuine truth by reading of Luthers booke,² he thought no labour or trauaill to be premitted to allure and to drawe all other englishmen to the like knowledge and vnderstanding. For the better and more easy accomplishing wherof, he first together with Frith, labored in translating the olde and newe Testament into English, a most hol-some worke for the Englishnation, he wrote also diuers other workes of Sundry tytles, amon[g]st the whiche is that moste worthy monument of his intitled Thobedience of a christen man, wherein with a synguler dexteritie he instructeth all menne to the office and dutie of christian obedience, with diuerse conflictes and disputations against More and others, no lesse delectable as also frutefull to be read. p. 520. Ed. 1563.

[Here begins the Memorandum of Tyndale's friend.]

First mayster Tyndall beyng in seruice with one maister Welche³ a Knyght, who married a daughter

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

William Tyndall the faythfull Minister and constant Martyr of Christ, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought vp from a child in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew vp, and increased as wel in the knowledge of tounges, and other liberrall Artes, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures: whereunto his mynde was singularly addicted.³ In so much that he lying then at Magdalene Hall, read priuely to certeine studentes and felowes of Magdalene Colledge, some parcell of Diuinitie: instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose maners also and conuersation being correspondent to the same, were such that all they which knew hym, reputed and esteemed hym to bee a man of most vertuous disposition, and of life vnspotted.

Thus he in the Vniuersitie of Oxford¹ increasing more and more in learnyng, and procedyng in degrees of the scholes, spying hys time, remoued from thence to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge,² where after hee had lykwise made his abode a certeine space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods word, leauyng that Vniuersitie also, he resorted to one *M. Welche*³ a knyght of Gloucester-

¹ The dates of Tyndale's connection with Oxford and Cambridge have not yet been recovered. See WOOD, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 94, Ed. 1813, and C. H. and T. COOPER, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, i. 59, Ed. 1858.

² If Tyndale went a 'child' to Oxford, and was there 'singularly addicted' to the study of Scripture, it must have been long before Luther attached his ninety-five Theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg (31 October, 1517); which protest first gave him a European reputation. Tyndale may have been confirmed in his opinions by Luther; and we shall see one of the works of Erasmus was so congenial to him that he translated it: but a consideration that he must have been about 30 years of age, and a priest, when Luther attacked the sale of indulgences, is conclusive that he was but following the dictates of his own mind and conscience when in early life he searched after truth in the Revelation of God, and not among the writings of men.

³ Sir John Walsh, son and heir of John Walsh, married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Pointz, and having served the office of high sheriff of Gloucestershire, 18 and 27, H. 8 [i.e. 1526 and 1535] died seized of Little Sodbury in the 38th year of the same reign (22 April 1546—28 Jan. 1547), leaving Maurice his son thirty years old, who had the livery of the manor the same year, and married Bridget, daughter of — Vause. S. Ruder, *Hist. of Gloucestershire*, p. 677, Ed. 1779.

Little Sodbury is two miles from Chipping Sodbury, and fifteen from Bristol, on the Bath and Chippenham road. . . . The old church of St. Adeline was a stone building in the Early English style, with tower, nave, transept and porch, and situate adjacent to the manor house; but having fallen into decay, a new church was erected in 1859 on a more convenient site, which church, with the addition of a vestry room and north aisle, was as nearly as possible a restoration of the old one. *Kelly's Gloucestershire*, p. 634, Ed. 1870.

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

of Syr Robert Pointz, a knyght dwelling in Gloucestr shyre, the sayde Tyndall beyng scholemaister to the sayde maister Welche his children,¹ and being in good fauour with his maister, sat moste commonly at his owne table, whiche kept a good ordinary, hauing resort to hym, many tymes diuerse great beneficed men, as Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other diuerse doctors, and learned men. Amongst whome commonly was talke of learning, as well of Luther and Erasmus Roterodamus, as of opinions in the scripture. The saide Maister Tyndall being learned and which had bene a student of diuinitie in Cambridge,² and hadde therein taken degree of schole, did many times therin shewe his mynde and learnyng, wherein as those men and Tyndall did varie in opinions and iudgements, then maister Tyndall would shewe them on the booke the places, by open and manifest scripture, the whiche continued for a certaine season, diuerse and sondry tymes vntyll in the continuance thereof, those great beneficed doctors waxed weary and bare a secret grudge in their hartes against maister Tyndale.

So vpon a tyme some of those beneficed doctors, had maister Welch and the Lady his wyfe, at a supper or banquet, there hauinge amonge them talke at wyll without any gainsaiying, and the supper or banquet beyng done, and maister Welch and the Lady his wyfe, came home. They called for maister Tyndall, and talked with hym, of suche communication as hadde bene, where they came fro, and of their opinions. Maister Tyndall thereunto made aunswere agreeable to the truthe of gods worde, and in reproving of their false opinions. The Lady Welch being a stoute woman, and as maister Tyndall did reporte³ her to be wise, beyng there no more but they three, maister Welch his wyfe and maister Tyndall.⁴ Well sayde she, there was suche a doctor, he may dispende CC. pounce [£3000] by the yeare, an other one hundred pounce [£1500], and an other three hundred pounce [£4500], and what thynke ye, were it reason that we should beleue you before them so great learned and beneficed men.⁵ Maister Tyndall hearyng her, gaue her no aunswere, nor after that, had but small argumentes against suche, for he perceiued it would not

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

shyre, and was there scholemaister to his children,¹ and in good fauour with his master. This Gentleman, as hee kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table, there resorted to hym many times sondry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, with other diuers Doctors and great beneficed men: who there together with *M. Tyndall* sitting at the same table, did vse many tymes to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of *Luther* and of *Erasmus*: Also of diuers other controuersies and questions vpon the Scripture.

Then *M. Tyndall*, as he was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so he spared not to shewe vnto them simply and playnly hys iudgement in matters, as he thought: and when as they at any tyme did varye from *Tyndall* in opinions and iudgement, he would shewe them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of ye Scriptures, to confute their erours, and to confirme his sayings. And thus continued they for a certaine season, reasonyng and contending together diuers and sundry tymes, till at length they waxed wery, and bare a secret grudge in their hartes agaynst hym.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of these great Doctours had inuited *M. Welch* and hys wife to a banket: where they had talke at will and pleasure, vttering their blyndes and ignorance without any resistance or gaynsaying. Then *M. Welch* and hys wife comming home and calling for *M. Tyndall*, began to reason with him about those matters, wherof ye priests had talked before at theyr banket. *M. Tyndall* aunsweryng by scriptures, mayntayned the truth, and reproued theyr false opinions. Then sayd the Lady *Welch*, a stout and a wyse woman (as *Tyndall* reported) Well (sayd she) there was such a Doctor which may dispend a C. li. [hundred pounds = £1500] and an other. ij. C. li. [two hundred pounds = £3000] and an other. iij. C. li. [three hundred pounds = £4500] and what? were it reason, thinke you, that we should beleue you before them?⁴ *M. Tyndall* gaue her no aunswere at that time, nor also after that (because he sawe it would not auayle) he talked but litle in those matters. At that tyme he was about the translation of a booke called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*,⁵ which beyng translated, he deluyered

¹ If Maurice, born in 1516, was the eldest born son of Sir J. Walsh, Tyndale's connection with his family as tutor must necessarily have been short; probably at most the two or three years 1521-3.

² Note 1, p. 8.

³ Graphic points showing the narrative to be at first hand.

⁴ What unconscious satire!

⁵ That is, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* [The Pocket Dagger of the Christian Soldier] written by

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

helps in effect to the contrary. But then did he translate into Englyshe a booke called as I remembre *Enchiridion militis Christiani*.² The whiche being translated, deliuered to his maister and Lady. And after they hadde read that booke, those great prelates were no more so often called to the house, nor when they came, had the cheare nor countenance as they were wont to haue, the whiche they did well perceiue, and that it was by the meanes and incensing of maister Tyndall, and at the last came no more there.

After that, when there was a sytting of the byshops commissarie or chauncelor: And warning was geuen to ye priests to appeare, maister Tindal was also warned to be there. And whether he had knowledge by their threatning, or yat he did suspect yat thei would lay to his charge, it is not now perfly in my mynde, but thus he tolde me,¹ that he doubted their examinations, so that he in his going thetherwardes prayed in his minde hastily to God to strengthen him, to stande faste in the truthe of his worde, so he being there before them, they layde sore to his charge, sayng he was an heretike in Sophistry, an heretike in Logike, an heretike in his diuinitie, and so continueth. But they sayde vnto hym, you beare your selfe boldly of the Gentlemen here in this countrey, but you shall be otherwyse talked with. Then maister Tyndal answered them. I am contente that you bryng me where you wyll into anye countrey within England, geuing me x. pound [£150] a yeaere to lyue with. So you bynde me to nothing but to teache children and preache. Then had they nothing more to saye to hym, and thus he departed and went home to his maister agayne.

There dwelt not far of an olde doctour that had bene Archechauncelor to a byshoppe, the whiche was of olde familiar acquaintance with maister Tyndal, who also fauoured him well, to whome

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

to his Maister and Lady. Who after they had read and well perused the same, the Doctorly Prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheare and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thyng they marking and well perceiuing, and supposing no lesse but it came by the meanes of *M. Tyndall*, refrayned them selues, and at last vtterly withdrewd themselues, and came no more there.

As this grewe on, the Priestes of the countrey clustring together, began to grudge and storme against *Tyndall*, rayling agaynst hym in alehouses and other places. Of whom *Tyndall* him self in his prologue before ye first booke of Moses. . .

[*The entire Prologue is reprinted below.*]

It folowed not long after this, that there was a sittynge of the bishops Chancellour appointed, and warnynge was giuen to the Priestes to appeare: amongst whom *M. Tyndall* was also warned to bee there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatnynges, or knowledge giuen him that they would lay some thynges to his charge, it is vncerteine: but certein this is (as he hym self declared) that he doubted their priuie accusations: so that he by the way in goyng thether wardes, cryed in hys mynde hartely to God, to gyue him strength fast to stand in the truth of hys worde.

Then when the tyme came of hys appearaunce before the Chancellour, he threatned him greuously, reuilyng and ratyng hym as though hee had bene a dogge, and layd to his charge many thynges, whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bryng forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the Priestes of the countrey the same tyme were there present. [*This is taken from the Prologue: see further on.*] And thus *M. Tyndall* after those examinations escapyng out of their handes, departed home and returned to his master agayne.

There dwelt not farre of a certaine Doctour that had ben an old Chauncellour before to a Byshop, who had ben of old familiar acquaintance with *M. Tyndall* and also fauored hym well. Vnto

Erasmus at Audomarum [St. Omer] in 1501. 'It openly taught . . . that the true Christian's religion, instead of consisting in the acceptance of scholastic dogmas, or the performance of outward rites and ceremonies, really consists in a true self sacrificing loyalty to Christ, his ever living Prince; that life is a warfare, and that the Christian must

sacrifice his evil lusts and passions, and spend his strength, not in the pursuit of his own pleasure, but in active service of his Prince.' F. SREBOHM, *The Oxford Reformers, etc.*, p. 173, Ed. 1869.

¹ Note 3, p. 9.

² Note 5, p. 9.

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

maister Tyndall went and open[ed] his mynde vpon diuerse questions of the scriptures, for he durst boldly open vnto hym his mynde. That auncient doctor saide, do you not knowe yat the Pope is the very Antichrist, whiche the scripture speaketh of, but beware what ye saye, for if you shal be perceiued to be of that opinion, it will cost you your lyfe, and sayde, I haue bene an officer of his, but I haue geuen it vp and defie him and all his workes.

And sone after Maister Tyndall happened to be in the companie of a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, droue him to that issue that the learned manne sayde, we were better be without Gods lawe then the Popes: Maister Tyndall hearing that, answered hym, I defie the Pope and all his lawes, and sayde, if God spare my lyfe ere many yeares, I wyl cause a boye that dryueth ye plough, shall knowe more of the scripture then thou doest.

[The first account is evidently better here, as it tells us the occasion of this Reply: see above.]

Shortly after that he required his maister Welche of his good wyll to depart from hym, saying to hym, syr: I perceiue that I shal not be suffered to tary long here in this country, nor you shalbe able to kepe me out of their handes, and what displeasure you might haue therby is harde to knowe, for the whiche I should be ryght sorry. So with the good wyl of his Maister he departed from hym to London, and there taried a whyle and preached. But it was not longe after but he departed out of the Realme into Germanie, and there put forthe certayne bookes of the olde Testament and the hole newe Testament, into the Englyshe tongue, with other diuerse bookes of his owne compiling, the whiche he sent from thence into Englande, wherby

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

whom Maister Tyndall went and opened hys mynde vpon diuers questions of the Scripture: for to hym hee durst bee bold to disclose his hart. Vnto whom the Doctour sayd: do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say: for if you shalbe perceiued to be of that opinion, it will cost you your lyfe, and sayd moreouer, I haue bene an officer of hys, but I haue gyuen it vp and defie hym and all hys workes.

It was not long after, but *M. Tyndall* happened to be in the companie of a certayne Diuine recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with hym, hee droue hym to that issue, that the sayd great Doctour burst out into these blasphemous wordes, and sayd: we were better to be without Gods law then the Popes. *M. Tyndall* hearyng this, full of godly zeale and not bearyng that blasphemous saying, replied agayne and sayd: I defie the Pope and all hys lawes: and further added that if God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did.

After this the grudge of the Priestes increasing still more and more against *Tyndall*, they neuer ceased barkyng and ratyng at hym, and layd many sore thynges to his charge, saying yat he was an hereticke in Sophistry, an hereticke in Logicke, and an hereticke in Diuinitie: and sayd moreouer to hym that he bare hym selfe bold of the Gentlemen there in that country: but notwithstanding, shortly hee should bee otherwise talked withall. To whom *M. Tyndall* aunsweryng agayne thus sayd: that he was contented they should bryng him into any country in all England, giuyng him x. li. [£150] a yere to lyue with, and byndyng hym to no more but to teach children and to preach.

To bee short, *M. Tyndall* beyng so molested and vexed in the country by the Priestes, was constrained to leaue that country and to seke an other place: and so comyng to *M. Welche* he desired hym of hys good will, that hee might departe from hym, saying on this wise to hym: Syr, I perceaue I shall not bee suffered to tary long here in this country, neither shal you be hable though you would, to kepe me out of the handes of the spiritualitytie, and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keepyng me, God knoweth: for the whiche I should be right sorry. So that in fine, *M. Tyndall* with the good will of his master, departed and eftsoones came vp to London, and there preached a while, accordyng as hee had done in the country

FOX'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1563.

sence thanks be geuen to God, the dore of lyght into the scriptures, hath and dailie is more and more opened vnto vs, the whiche before was many yeares closed in darkenes. *pp.* 513-4. *Ed.* 1563.

FOX'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1570.

before, and specially about the town of Bristowe, and also in the sayd towne, in the common place called Saint Austins Greene.¹
pp. 1224-5. *Ed.* 1570.

3. Earlier than the testimony of the Author of the Memorandum preserved by Fox, is the evidence that comes out in the 'trouble' of Humphrey Monmouth. In answer to twenty-four articles of heresy charged against him, in May, 1528, Monmouth wrote to Wolsey and the Council the following petition, here reprinted from J. Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I., Part II., *pp.* 363-7, *Ed.* 1822; who gives it verbatim: the originals themselves are in Harl. MS., 425, Articles 4 and 5.

Unto the most honorable Lord Legate, and Chancellor of England, and to the honorable Council unto your Sufferain Lord, King Henry VIII. the sixth day of May, and in the axth yere of his raigne; beseeching your Grace, and al my lords and masters, to have pitie on me, poor prisoner in the Towre of London, at your plesure.

THE xliiith day of May, and in the yere abovesaid, Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, and Sir William Kingeston, Knight, and of the Kinges noble Counsaill, sent for me unto Sir John Dauncies, and of the same Counsaill, and there they examyned me what letters and what books I receved lately from beyond the seas, and I said, None, nor never had of trewth. And what exhibition I did give to any bodie beyond the sea. I said, None in three yeres past: and examyned me, whether I was acquainted with many persons? Of the which I was acquainted with none of them to my knowledge and remembrance. I told them in iiij yeres past I did give unto a Priest called Sir^a William Tyndal, otherwyse called Hotchens. And then Sir Thomas Moore and Sir William Ken[gy]lston had me home to my house, and serched it, and saw al the letters and books in my howse to my knowledg, by my faith; and there they found no lettres that they regarded, nor Ynglish books but five or six printed, the which they regarded not; and they left them with me as they found them. And from thence I went again to Sir John Dauncys, my special good master, and he brought me the same day to the Towre of London, and delivered me unto Sir Edmonde Walsyngham, Kt., and Lyftenant of the Towre.

Upon iiij yeres and a half past, and more,² I herde the foresaid Sir William preach ii or iii sermons at St. Donstones in the west, in London; and after that I chaunced to meet with him, and with communication I examyned what lyving he had. He said he had none at all, but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service. And therfore I had the better fantasy to him. And afterward he went to my Lord and spake to him, as he told me, and my L. of London answered him, that he had Chaplaines inough, and he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme. And so the Priest came

¹ Every preaching trip to Bristol involved a thirty miles' walk, fifteen each way.

² Priests, at this time and previously, received the title of Sir, as a mark of respect; as we now designate laymen, Esquire.

³ This fixes precisely the date of Tyndale's coming to London. He must have begun to preach immediately on arrival. Monmouth spoke with him *before* he applied to Tonstall. 'Four yeres and a halfe past' would be 19th November, 1523; 'and more' would, at the latest, place Tyndale's journey to town in October of that year. He stays with Monmouth six months according to Monmouth's account, who would naturally represent his stay as short as possible; 'almost an yere' he says himself, see page 16.

'In four yeres past' Monmouth did give exhibition unto Tyndale: 'I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow.' Therefore Tyndale left England about May 1524. 'Within a year after he sent for his [other] ten pounds to me from Hamborow, and thither I sent it him'; say about March 1525. Tyndale therefore left Hamburgh for Cologne in the summer of 1525. He probably stayed not long there; but being discovered, he escaped with Roy up the Rhine, and came to Worms about September 1525; and then and there working unremittingly—the actual translation being probably already finished—saw the two editions through the press, by the end of that year.

to me againe, and besought me to help him, and so I took him into my house half a yere: and there he lived like a good Priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night, at his book;¹ and he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linnin about him in the space he was with me. I did promys him x*l*. sterling [£150], to prairie for my father and mother there sowles, and al Christen sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow. Afterwards he got of some other men x*l*. sterling [£150] more, the which he left with me. And within a yere after he sent for his ten pounds to me from Hamborow: and thither I sent it him by one Hans Collenbeke, as I remember is his name, a merchant of the Stilyard. And since I never sent him the value of one peny, nor never wil. I haue given more exhibitions to skollers in my dayes, than to that Priest. Mr. Doctor Royston, Chaplen to my Lord of London, hath cost me more than x*l*. or l. pounds sterling [£600 or £750]. And also Mr. Doctor Wooderal, Provinciall of Friar Austynes, hath cost me as much, or more. Mr. Doctor Watson, Chaplain to the Kings good Grace, hath cost me somewhat, and somewhat I have given to skollers at his request, and to divers priests and fryers: and yf any of those other should chance to turn, as that Priest hath done, as God forbid, were I to blame for giving them exhibition?

The foresaid Sir William left me an English book, called *Enchiridion*.² The which book the Abbes of Denny desyred yt of me, and I sent yt to her. And that howse hath cost me more than l. pounds sterling [£750]. I could reherse many more. I do not say this because I wold be praised, as God knoweth, but because your Gr. and my Lords of the Counsell should know that I have spent more for the love of God, after the counsil of good Doctors, than of that one Priest.

Another book I had of the same copie:³ a Frier of Greenwich desired yt of me, and I gave yt him. I think my Lord of Rochester hath it. I had two books in English wrytten; the one was called the *Pater Noster*, an old book.⁴ How yt came to my howse, on my faith I cannot tel; and the other book is called *De Libertate Christiana*.⁵ I received him of one Arnold, a yong man that is gone into Spain to a gentleman whose name is Mr. Woodall, that went with Sir John Wingfeld, Kt. Embassador into Spaine. I delivered those two books to the Father Confessor of Sion. And also I delivered him a book of the N. Testament, the which book my L. of London had. Also, I had a litle treatise, that the Priest sent me, when he sent for his mony. And all those books, save the books of the N. Testament, laye openly in my house for the space of two yeres or more, that every man might rede on them that would, at their pleasure. I never harde priest, nor fryer, nor lay man find any great fault in them. And so I trust in our Lord God, that your good Grace, nor none of my lords and masters of the Kings noble Council, wil find any great faults in any of them, when it shal please your Gr. or any of the Council to read them or hear them. And so I trust in our Lord God I shal be gyltless for any evil books, or any other thing that hath been surmysed wrongfully on me. And yf mine accusers be wel examined, peradventure they should be found more fawly than I shal be, when the trowth shal be known.

I have shewed the book called *The Enchiridion* to Mr Doctor Watson, and to Mr Doctor Stochouse, Parson of Laname, [Lavenham,] in Suffolk, and to many other, that never found fault in him to my

¹ i.e. Studying: but undoubtedly his chief book was the New Testament. 'And even in the bisshope of londons house I entended to have done it,' see p. 16. Once ensconced in Monmouth's house, he appears to have ceased to preach and to have devoted himself unremittingly to the task of translation; and that work he continued—singlehanded doing this great task—for the next two years, as he says, 'even very necessitie and combrance (God is recorde) aboute strength . . . caused that many thynges are lackynge.' So that there remained but to polish his version; and to see it correctly printed: when Tyndale was able to make arrangements for the secret impression at Cologne, and to obtain Roy's assistance in collating, etc.

² Evidently copies by Monmouth's amanuensis, 'my servant' that 'did write,' of Tyndale's translation of Erasmus' book.

³ Evidently some old English exposition or para-

phrase of the Lord's Prayer. Tyndale, in his *Answer to More* states that the Bishop of London [Fitz James] 'wold haue made the old deane Colet [d. 16 Sept. 1510] of paules an heretyke/ for translatynge the Pater noster in englyshe/ had not the bysshope of canterbury holpe the deane.' fol. 104. b.

⁴ This is the title of a tract by Luther, first published with his letter to Pope Leo X., dated 6 Sept. 1520, in Latin, at Wittenberg, in 1520, in which year two 4to editions were printed there, one occupying 18, the other 21 leaves. Luther again printed it there in 1521, in an edition of 20 leaves.

The tract is written on these two propositions.

1. *A Christian man is a most free lord of all, subject to none.* 2. *A Christian man is a most dutiful servant of all, subject to all.* Monmouth appears to have had a 'wrytten' English translation of one of these Latin editions.

knowledg; and to the Father Confessor of Syon, and to Mr Martyn, Priest and Parson of Totingebeke. And also the other two books, called the *Pater Noster* and *De Libertate Christiana*, I think they looked them most part over, and they found no fault at them. But in one of them, *De Libertate Christiana*, they said, there was in him things somewhat hard, except the reader were wyse. And by my faith there was al the fault that ever I herde of them. If I had thought they had not been good, or put any mistrust in any of them, I would not have shewed them openly to so many men as I did. But mine accusers unto your noble Gr. I think did never read them over; and yf they did, they were to blame, that they had not the order of charity with them. And yf they had shewed me, that they had been nought or evil books, yf they had been lerned, I would have given credence to them, and done them immediately away. And yf I had then kept them, and they had complayned, then I had bene worthy to have bene punyshed. I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self.

When I harde my Lord of London¹ preach at Pawles Cross, that Sir William Tyndal had translated the N. Testament into English, and was noughtilie translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil by him. And shortly after, al the lettres and treatyes that he sent me, with dyvers copies of books that my servant did write, and the sermons that the Priest did make at St. Dunstones, I did burne them in my howse. He that did write them did se it. I did burne them for fear of the translator, more than for any yll that I knew by them.

If it like your Grace, for this imprisonment I have utterly lost my name, and also my litle credence, which I had, for ever. The which is the greatest loss, and the more sorrow and shame, that ever I had in my liffe. I occupy with divers clothe-men in Suffolk, and in other places. The which have wekely some of them, as they send up their clothes, most have their mony. And yf they fail of their monye, they say, they cannot set the poore folks aworke. There is divers clothe-men, the which I buy al their clothes that they make. And yf they should go offer them to sel to other men now at this time, they wold bid them go and sel where they were wont to sel, when the sale was good; and so the poor men should have great loss. I was wont to sel for most part every yere iiii or v hundred clothes to strangers, which was worth to the Kinges Gr. in his customes, more than though I had shipped over my self five times so many.* I was wont betwixt Chrystmas and Whytsontide to sel most part of them. And of trefthe as yet since Chrystmas, I have sold but xxii clothes, nor I send over none, nor no man axeth for none: I praye God amend it, when yt shal please him. And yf I lye here in prison long, I cannot help my self more, nor none other man but shal be utterly undon for ever: and if your Gr. be not good and merciful unto me. God is merciful, and wil forgive them that be penitent, and axeth forgiveness. I trust in the Lord I have not offended your Gr. nor none of my lords nor masters of the Kinges noble Counsaill, willingly, nor to my knowledg. And yf I have, I beseeche your good Gr. and al my lords and masters, to forgive me, as you would that God should forgive you.

Yf I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent, and confessed, [I should be forgiven,] by reason of certen pardons that I have, the which my company and I had graunted when we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holly Father the Pope, *a pena* and *a culpa*, for certain times in the yere. And that I trust in God I receved at Easter last past; furthermore I receved, when your Gr. was last at Pawles, I trust in God, your pardon of *a pena* and *a culpa*; the which I beleve verily, yf I had don never so great offences, being penitent and confessed, and axing forgiveness, that I should have forgiveness. Beseeching your Gr. and al my lords and masters to pardon me and to forgive me, as I shal be your poor beadman during my liffe: and that the bl. Trinite, and our bl. lady Saint Marie, and al the holly company of heaven, may help you al at your most neede in vertue and grace, *Amen*. I beseeche your Gr. and al my lords and masters, to pardon me of my rude wrytinge and termes. I am unlerned; my witt is no better.

By your poor beadman and prysoner at your Gr's pleasure,

Humfrye Munmouth, Draper of London.

*In presentia reverendi patris in Christo Cuthberti London Episcopi, Humfridus Monmouth recognovit se scripsisse istas cartas.*³

¹ Tonsall returned from Spain in the first week of April 1526. I am unable to fix the date of this sermon; to which we shall find so many references: it is a central date in this history, and should if

possible be recovered.

² An appeal to the king's pocket.

³ Monmouth, having many friends, was let out of the Tower. He became Sheriff of London in 1535.

Whether this petition represent the religious opinions of Monmouth at its date; or whether it be a most subtle representation of all those of his acts which harmonized most with the shibboleths of the older 'faith'; may now perhaps be hard to determine. But it is clear that henceforth he turned more and more to the Reformation. In his remarkable will, dated 16th November, 1537, is the following provision:—

And I wyl that my Lord Byshop of Worcester [*i.e.* Hugh Latimer], Doctor Barnes, Doctor Crome, and Mayster Tayllour [All four ultra-Protestants] shal preach in my parysh-church aforesayd [Alhallowes in Barkynge of London], every week two sermons, tyl they have preached among them xxx. sermons: and I wyl gyve them for every sermonde xiii. iiiid. [£10]. And yf any of these foresayde persons cannot be there to preach these sermons, than I wyl that the other supplie his place, that shal be absent: so that after they have begonne to preach, (which I wold have them do immediatly after my buryal,) they shal contynue wekely every weke, tyl the said xxx. sermons be al preached, except there be an urgent cause, allowed by myn executours and supervisour, to the contrary. And that this thing may be perfourmed the better, I bequethe to eyther of myn especial and singular good Lords, Syr Thomas Audeley, Knyght, Lord Chauncellour, and Syr Thomas Crumwel, Knyght, Lord Crumwel, a standyng cup of sylver and gylte, of the value of x. pounds [£150], that they may be good Lords to these foresayd preachers, to helpe them and maynteyne them, that they be suffered to preach the forsayd sermons quietly, to the laud and prayse of Almyghty God, to the setting forth of my Prynces godly and heavenly purposes, to the utter abolyshyng and extingning of the usurped and false fayned power of the Byshop of Rome.—STRYPE, *Eccles. Mem.* I. Part II., p. 369., Ed. 1822.

4. Yet still more authoritative, is the account by Tyndale of himself. In what is usually known as his preface to the Pentateuch, but which is actually that to *The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis*, the printing of which book at Marburg was finished on 17th January, 1531; Tyndale cautiously refers to his early life; without naming those of his friends, whom to name would have been to have thrown in prison. We give the preface entire.

W. T.

To the Reader.



Hen I had translated the newe testament/ I added a pistle vnto the latter ende/ In which I desyred them yat were learned to amend if ought were founde amysse. But oure malicious and wylke hypocrytes which are so stubburne and hard herted in their weked abhominacions that it is not possible for them to amend any thinge at all (as we see by dayly experience when their both lyvinges and doinges are rebuked with the trouth) saye/ some of them that it is impossible to translate the scripture in to English/ some that it is not lawfull for the laye people to have it in their mother tonge/ some that it wold make them all heretykes/ as it wold no doute from many thinges which they of longe tyme have falsly taught/ and that is the whole cause wherfore they forbyd it/ though they other cokes pretende. And some or rather every one/ saye that it wold make them ryse ageynst the kinge/ whom they them selves (vnto their damnatyon) never yet obeyed, And leste these temporall rulars shuld see their falsehood/ if the scripture cam to light/ causesthem so to lye.

And as for my translation in which they afferme vnto the laye people (as I haue hearde saye) to be I wotte not how many thousande heresydes/ so that it can not be mended or correcte/ they haue yet taken so greate payne to examyne it/ and to compare it vnto that they wold fayne haue it and to their awne imaginations and iugglinge termes/ and to haue some what to rayle at/ and vnder that cloke to blaspheme the

¹ Thirty sermons remunerated at £10 each, and two silver gilt cups of £150 each, making together £600 devoted to a seven months' protest against the Papacy: such is the benefaction of this

large hearted and openhanded man, who thus bequeathed a legacy of £75 to each of his four favourite preachers, upon the performance of, to them, a congenial and easy duty.

treuth/ that they myght with as litle labour (as I suppose) haue translated the moste parte of the bible. For they which in tymes paste were wont to loke on no more scripture then they founde in their duns or soch like develysh doctryne/ haue yet now so narrowly loked on my translatyon/ that there is not so much as one I therein if it lacke a tytle over his hed/ but they haue noted it/ and nombre it vnto the ignorant people for an heresy. Fynallye in this they be all agreed/ to dryve you from the knowledge of the scripture/ and that ye shall not haue the texte therof in the mother tonge/ and to kepe the world styll in darkenesse/ to th[e]ntent they might sitt in the consciences of the people/ thorow vayne superstition and false doctrine/ to satisfye their fylthy lustes/ their proude ambition/ and vnsatiable covetuousnes/ and to exalte their awne honoure aboue kinge and emperoure/ yee and aboue god him silfe.

¶ A thousand bokes had they lever to be put forth agenste their abhominable doynge and doctrine/ then that the scripture shulde come to light. For as longe as they may kepe that doune/ they will so darken the ryght way with the miste of their sophistrie/ and so tangle them that either rebuke or despyse their abhominations with argumentes of philosophie and with worldly symylitudes and apparent reasons of naturall wisdom. And with wrestinge the scripture vnto their awne purpose clene contrarye vnto ye processe/ order and meaninge of the texte/ and so delude them in descantynge vpon it with alligories/ and amase them expoundinge it in manye senses before the vnlearned laye people (when it hath but one simple litterall sense whose light the owles can not abyde) that though thou feale in thyne harte and arte sure how that all is false yat they saye/ yet coudeste thou not solve their sotle rydles.

¶ Which thinge onlye moved me to translate the new testament. Because I had perceaved by experyence/ how that it was impossible to stablysh the laye people in any truth except/ ye scripture were playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tonge/ that they might se the processe/ ordre and meaninge of the texte : for els what so ever truth is taught them/ these ennymies of all truth quench it ageyne/ partly with the smoke of their bottomlesse pytte wherof thou readeest apocalipsis. ix. that is/ with apparent reasons of sophistrie and traditions of their awne makynge/ founded with out grounde of scripture/ and partly in jugglinge with the texte/ expoundinge it in such a sense as is impossible to gether of the texte/ if thou see the processe ordre and meaninge therof.

¶ And even in the bishope of londons house I entended to have done it.¹ For when I was so turmoyled in the contre where I was that I coude no lenger there dwell (the processe wherof were to longe here to reherce) I this wyse thought in my silfe/ this I suffre because the prestes of the contre be vnlearned/ as god it knoweth there are a full ignorant sorte which haue sene no more latyn then that they read in their portesses and missales which yet many of them can scacely read (except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum* in which yet/ though they be never so soryly lerned/ they pore day and night and make notes therein and all to teach the mydwyves as they say/ and *linwod*² a boke of constitutions to gether tithes/ mortuaries/ offeringes/ customs/ and other pillage/ which they calle/ not theirs but/ godes parte and the duty of holye churche/ to discharge their consciences with all : for they are bound that they shall not dimynysh, but encrease all thinge vnto the vtmost of their powers) and therefore (because they are thus vnlearned thought I) when they come to gedder to the alehouse/ which is their preachinge place/ they afferme that my sainges are heresy. And besydes yat they adde to of their owne heddes which I never spake/ as the maner is to prolonge the tale to shorte[n] the tyme with all/ and accuse me secretly to the chauncelare and other the bishopes officers/ And in deade when I cam before the chauncelare/ he threatened me greuously/ and revyld me and rated me as though I had bene a dogge/ and layd to my charge wherof there coude be none accuser brought forth (as their maner is not to bringe forth the accuser) and yet all the prestes of ye contre were yat same daye there. As I this thought the bishope of london came to my remembrance whom Erasmus (whose tonge maketh of litle gnattes greate elephantes and lifeth vpp aboue the starres whosoever geveth him a litle exhibition) prayseth exceedingly amonge other in his annotatytions on the new testament for his great learninge. Then thought I/ if I might come to this mannes service/ I were happye. And so I gате me to london/ and thorow the accoyntaunce of

¹ How Tonstall must have gnashed when he read this, and recalled to mind the person and manner of Tyndale at their interview nearly five years before!

² *The Provincial Constitutions of the English Church*, in Latin, were compiled by William Lynde-

wode, [who became Bishop of St. Davids, 14 Aug. 1442; was Lord Privy Seal to Henry V.; and died 21 Oct. 1446] about 1433. It was one of the earliest printed books in England; and several editions were printed at Paris before 1520.

my master came to sir harry gilford the kinges graces countroller/ and brought him an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of greke in to English/ and desyred him to speake vnto my lorde of london for me/ which he also did as he shewed me/ and willed me to write a pistle to my lorde/ and to goo to him my self which I also did/ and delivered my pistle to a servant of his awne/ one wylliam hebilthwayte, a man of myne old accoyntaunce. But god which knoweth what is within hypocrites/ sawe that I was begyled/ and that that counsell was not the nexte way vnto my purpose. And therefore he gate me no favoure in my lordes sight.

¶ Wherevpon my lorde answered me/ his house was full/ he had mo then he coude well finde/ and advised me to seke in london/ wher he sayd I coude not lacke a service/ And so in london I abode almoste an yere/ and marked the course of the worlde/ and herde our pratars/ I wold say oure preachers how they bosted them selves and their hye autorite/ and beheld the pompe of oure prelates and how besyed they were as they yet are/ to set peace and vnite in the worlde (though it be not possible for them that walke in darknesse to continue longe in peace/ for they can not but ether stamble or dash them selves at one thinge or a nother that shall clene vnquyet all togedder) and sawe thinges wherof I deferre to speake at this tyme and vnderstode at the laste not only that there was no rowme in my lorde of london palace to translate the new testament/ but also that there was no place to do it in all englonde/ as experience doth now openly declare.

¶ Vnder what maner therefore shuld I now submytte this boke to be corrected and amended of them/ which can suffer nothinge to be well? Or what protestacyon shuld I make in soch a matter vnto our prelates those stubborne Nimrothes which so mightely fight agenste god and resiste his holy spirit/ enforceynge with all crafte and sotelte to quench the light of the everlastinge testament/ promyses/ and apoyntemente made betwene god and vs: and heapinge the firc wrath of god vpon all princes and rulars/ mockinge them with false fayned names of hypocrysye/ and servinge their lustes at all poyntes/ and dispensing with them even of the very lawes of god/ of which Christe him self testifieth Matthew. v. yat not so much as one tittle therof may perish or be broken. And of which the prophete sayth Psalme. cxvij. Thou haste commaunded thy lawes to be kepte *mood*/ yat is in hebrew exceedingly/ with all diligence might and power/ and haue made them so mad with their iugglinge charmes and crafty persuasions that they thinke it full satisfaction for all their weked lyvinge/ to torment *such* as tell them trouth/ and to borne the worde of their soules helth and sle whosoever beleve thereon.

¶ Not withstondinge yet I submytte this boke and all other that I haue other made or translated, or shall in tyme to come (if it be goddes will that I shall further laboure in his heruest) vnto all them that submytte them selves vnto the worde of god/ to be corrected of them/ yee and moreover to be disallowed and also burnt/ if it seme worthy when they have examyned it wyth the hebrue/ so that they first put forth of their awne translatinge a nother that is more correcte.

5. It will help us to understand what manner of man Tyndale was, if we consider the account that Fox gives of him, at a period some eight or ten years later on, in his *Life*, prefixed to the edition of his *Workes* (London, 1573, fol.) above referred to.

And here to ende and conclude this history with a fewe notes touching his priuate behaiour in dyet, study, and especially his charitable zeale and tender releuing of the poore: Fyrst he was a man very frugall, and spare of body, [Fox had previously stated that Tyndale was 'a man of no great stature'] a great student and earnest laborer, namely in the setting forth of ye Scriptures of God. He reserued or halowed to hym selfe ij. dayes in the weeke, which he named his dayes of pastime, and those dayes were Monday the first day in the weeke, and Satterday the last day in the weeke. On the Monday he visited all suche poore men and women as were fled out of England by reason of persecution into Antwarpe, and those well vnderstanding their good exercises and qualities he did very liberally comfort and relieue: and in like maner provided for the sicke and deseased persons. On the Satterday he walked round about the towne in Antwarpe, seeking out euery Corner, and hole where he suspected any poore person to dwell, (as God knoweth there are many) and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet overburdened with children, or els were aged, or weake, those also hee plentifully releued. And thus he spent his ij. dayes of pastime as he cauled them. And truely his Almose was very large and great: and so it might well bee:

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for his exhibition that he had yearley of the Englishe merchauntes was very much, and that for the most part he bestowed vpon the poore as afore sayd. The rest of the dayes in the weeke he gaue hym wholly to his booke wherē in most diligently he traueled. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchaunts chamber, or other, whether came many other merchauntes : and vnto them would he reade some one percell of Scripture, eyther out of the olde testament, or out of the new, the which proceeded so frutefully, sweetely and gently from him (much like to the writing of S. Iohn the Euangelest) that it was a heauenly comfort and ioy to the audience to heare him reade the scriptures : and in likewise after dinner, he spent an houre in the aforesayd maner. He was a man without any spot, or blemishe of rancor, or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man liuing was able to reprooue him of any kinde of sinne or cryme, albeit his righteousnes and iustification depended not there vpon before God, but onely vpon the bloud of Christ, and his fayth vpon the same : in which faith constantly he dyed, as is sayd at Filforde (Vilvorde), and now resteth with the glorious company of Christes Martyrs blessedly in the Lord, who be blessed in all his saintes Amen.

Thus much from friends : the next testimony comes from a bitter enemy.

II. *The Printing at Cologne.*

Great allowance must be made in considering this hostile testimony, in respect both to the ignorance and the animus of Roman Catholic writers, in matters connected with the vernacular translation of the New Testament. Guessing causes for that, the occasion of which they were ignorant of, they hazarded all manner of statements contrary to the fact : while as to motives, they could see, or at the least would acknowledge little that was upright and noble in the Reformers. Making, however, all necessary deductions, we shall recover much valuable information through these antagonistic writers.

1. JOHN DOBNECK, surnamed COCHLÆUS, an incessant pamphleteer, and virulent antagonist to Luther, in a controversy with Alexander Ales of Scotland, as to the free reading of the Scriptures, printed a letter to James V. of Scotland, (Colophon dated Dresden, vi. Idus Junij [10 June] 1533,) of which the title is *An expediat laicis, legere Noui Testamenti libros lingua vernacula?* 'Whether it be expedient for the laity to read the books of the New Testament in the native tongue?' In which occurs his earliest printed reference to the secret printing at Cologne.

COCHLÆUS' FIRST ACCOUNT.

Etenim ante annos octo, duo ex Anglia Apostatæ, qui Vuitenbergæ Teuthonicam edocti linguam, Lutheri nouum testamentum in linguam Anglicanam uerterant, Coloniæ Agrippinæ uenerunt, tanquam ad urbem Angliæ uiciniorē, mercatuque celebriorē, et nauigijs ad transmittendum aptiorē, ibique post rusticorum tumultum aliquamdiu lati-

TRANSLATION.

And indeed eight years ago, two apostates from England, who having learnt the German language at Wittenberg had translated Luther's New Testament into English, came to Cologne, being a city nearer to England, more frequented by commerce, and better furnished with boats for conveyance ; and there, living in concealment for some time¹

¹ 'The revolt of the peasants began on 10th July, 1524.' It 'spread with inconceivable rapidity from

Suabia to the districts on the Rhine, and into Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. All these countries

COCHLÆUS' FIRST ACCOUNT.

tantes, conduxerunt sibi in occulto Chalcographos, ut mox primo aggressu tria milia exemplarium imprimerent, Cumque eo in opere alacriter ingenti spe procederent, iactitabant conscij Bibliopolæ et Chalcographi, totam Angliam breui fore Lutheranam, uelint nolint Rex et Cardinalis. Id ego intelligens, premonui quosdam Anglorum Regi fideles, qui et senatus autoritate malignam illorum machinationem interceperunt, et Regem tanti periculi per literas admonuerunt. Vnde factum est, ut ea iacula, feliciter præuisa, non potuerunt ferire incautos, de quibus tantopere gloriati fuerant Lutherani. A. vi.

TRANSLATION.

after the riots of the peasantry, they secretly hired printers to print at first 3000 copies. As they proceeded eagerly and hopefully in the work, the booksellers and printers who knew of it boasted that the whole of England would shortly be Lutheran, whether the king and cardinal wished it or not. Hearing of this, I warned some faithful servants of the king of England, who by authority of the senate intercepted the evil design and warned the king by letter of the danger. Thus it happened, that these weapons, happily foreseen, could not strike unawares the people of whom the Lutherans had boasted so highly.

2. Cochlæus wrote *De matrimonio serenissimi Regis Angliæ, Henrici Octavi, Congratulatio disputatoria* (Colophon dated Lipsiæ, Feb. 1535): to which Sir Richard Morison replied in his *Apomaxis Calumniarum J. Cochlei contra Henry VIII.* (Colophon dated London 1537): to which work Cochlæus rejoined with *Scopa . . . in araneas Richardi Morysini Angli* (Colophon dated Lipsiæ, March 1538). In this last work, Cochlæus again alludes to the printing at Cologne.

COCHLÆUS' SECOND ACCOUNT.

Ego uero Morysine Regem tuum non segniter laudauī, dum laude digna faceret. Et possem profectò multo iustius ei ingratitudinis dicam scribere, quam tu Cæsari nostro Opt. ac sanctiss. Principi. Nam anno Domini M.D.XXV. cum essem pauper et exul per seditiosos plebis et rusticorum tumultus, Colonia constitutus, non solum indicaui ei per epistolam priuatam occultas duorum Anglorum contra regnum suum machinationes improbas, quibus Lutheri Testamentum nouum in Anglicanam linguam uersum, Colonia excudebatur, ut in Angliam in multis milibus occulte transmitteretur, Verum etiam et publice nuncupaui ei subsequente mox altero anno XII. libros Ruperti Tutiensis in Apocalypsim Ioannis, et librum plurium eiusdem Ruperti opusculorum bene compactum, dono transmissi. Ipse uero ad hæc omnia perpetuò mutus ad me ac dissimulator permansit, paupertatis et exilij mei prorsus immemor, licet eo tempore Lutheranæ sectæ infensissimus esset hostis et aduersarius. Vt mihi tunc suomet iudicio non minus pro illo indicio meo de duobus Anglis, in regni tranquillitatem male machinantibus, debuerit, quam

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

But, Morysin, I was not slow to praise your King, when he did things that were worthy of praise; and I could immediately write against him a charge of ingratitude, much more justly than you can against our excellent Emperor and most sacred Prince. For in the year of our Lord MDXXV. when I was poor, and by the seditions of the people and tumult of the rustics settled an exile of Cologne, not only did I discover to him, by a private epistle, the secret wicked machinations of two Englishmen against his kingdom, by whom the New Testament (of Luther) translated into the English language, was printed at Cologne, that it might be transmitted secretly, in many thousands into England: But I also forthwith, in the next year, publicly dedicated to him xii. Books of Rupert of Deutz, on the Apocalypse of John, and I sent him, as a present, a book, well bound, consisting of the greater part of the small works of the said Rupert. But, notwithstanding all these things, he still remained silent, and took no notice of me, altogether unmindful of my poverty and exile, although at that time he was a most determined enemy and opposer of the

had revolted in January, 1525.' D'Aubigné, *Hist. of the Reformation*, ii. 343; Ed. 1855. The revolt was finally suppressed by the defeat, on 15th May,

1525, of the peasants, by Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse. Cochlæus places Tyndale's residence at Cologne some time after the tumults.

COCHLÆUS' SECOND ACCOUNT.

Mardochæo debuit Assuerus pro indicio quod is de duobus Eunuchis Regi periclitanti per Hester insinuaerat. B. ij.

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

Lutheran sect. So, then, even in his own estimation, he was indebted to me, for that discovery of mine, concerning the two Englishmen, plotting wickedly against the peace of his kingdom, not less than Ahasuerus was indebted to Mordecai, for the discovery, which, through Esther, he unbosomed to the King, when in jeopardy from his two eunuchs. *Annals of the Eng. Bible*: i. 61. Ed. 1845.

3. But the fullest account of the secret impression given to us by Cochläus is in his history *De Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, printed at St. Victor's Mount, a monastery near Mayence [Moguntium] 1549, wherein under the year 1526¹ occurs the following most important passage.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

Verum Duo Angli Apostatæ, qui aliquandiu fuerant Vuittenbergæ,² non solum quærebant subuertere Mercatos suos, qui eos occulte in exilio fovebant et alebant: Verum etiam cunctos Angliæ populos, uolente nolente Rege, breui per nouum Lutheri Testamentum,³ quod in Anglicanam traduxerant linguam, Lutheranos fore sperabant. Venerant iam Coloniam Agrippinam, ut Testamentum sic tractatum, per Typographos in multa Milia multiplicatum, occulte sub alijs mercibus deueherent inde in Angliam. Tanta enim eis erat rei bene gerendæ fiducia, ut primo agressu peterent a Typographis, Sex Milia sub prælum dari. Illi autem subuerentes, ne grauissimo afficerentur damno, si quid aduersi accideret, tantum Tria Milia⁴ sub prælum miserunt: Quæ si feliciter uenderentur, facile possent imprimi denuo. Iam literas ad Sanctos, qui sunt in Angliis, præmiserat Pomeranus,⁵ et ad Regem quoque scripserat ipse

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

Two English apostates, who had been sometime at Wittenberg,² sought not only to subvert their own merchants (who secretly favoured and supported them in their exile,) but even hoped that, whether the king would or not, all the people of England would in a short time become Lutherans, by means of the New Testament of Luther,³ which they had translated into the English language. They had already come to Cologne, that thence they might convey, secretly, under cover of other goods to England, the Testament so translated, and multiplied by printers into many thousands. For they had so much confidence of managing the business well, that, at the first onset, they asked from the printers six thousand to be given from the press. But fearing lest they should meet with a very heavy loss, if anything happened unfortunately, they only put three thousand⁴ to the press; which, if they should happily be sold, could with ease be printed

¹ Cochläus, writing 23 years after the event, summarises events from their perspective at that distance of time. He groups matters together which occurred over a period of several years, as if they were but the stages in a vast preconceived plot, so subtle and far-reaching as to require even diabolic powers of invention and construction: instead of, as in truth and fact, the uncombined efforts of many men who strove to bring the system of which he was the advocate, down to the dust. The date 1526 is no contradiction, for his main story is the publication of the works of the Abbot Rupertus, the publishing of which at Cologne began in 1526; his notice of the New Testament being but episodal.

² It is to be noted that Cochläus did not know even the names of Tyndale and Roy, much less their previous history. Therefore he supposes that these two 'apostates' had been first with Luther: which is quite contrary to the fact. There is nothing to show that Tyndale ever saw Luther.

He denied that he was confederate with him. Both Reformers were apparently quite independently at work.

³ How could Cochläus know this, when he never saw a sheet of the impression? Luther's German version first appeared in Sept. 1522.

⁴ This fixes the final number of the Quarto impression: of which the present fragment is the only known relic.

⁵ The title of this short letter (4 leaves) is *Epistola Ioannis Bugenhagii Pomerani ad Anglos*. Wittenberg. MDXXXV. The ad Sanctos, &c., quoted by Cochläus, is found in the heading *Ioannes Bugenhagius Pomeranus Pastor Ecclesie Wittenbergensis Sanctis in Christo qui sunt in Anglia*. The essence of this letter is the following, taken from the first English edition 1536. "And because thou shalt not excuse thyself with the diuersity of doctrynes, to be shorte, we teach but one artikel, though we preach much daylye, and wryte much,

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

Lutherus.¹ Cunque nouum Testamentum mox subsequuturum crederetur, tanta ex ea spe lætitia Lutheranos inuasit, ac uanæ fiduciæ uento inflauit, ut gaudio distenti, ante diem ruperint secretum uanis iactationibus.²

Exulabat eo tempore Coloniz Ioannes Cochlæus, Decanus Ecclesiæ B. Virginis Francofordensis, Qui per hospitem suum, Georgium Lauer, Canonicum ad Apostolos, Abbati Tuitiensi redditus familiariter notus, ubi audisset opera quædam Ruperti Tuitiensi quondam Abbatiss, mittenda esse Nurembergam, ut a Lutheranis æderentur in publicum: cœpit summo studio eam rem et dissuadere et impedire. Nam Lutherani in eum usque diem, cum omnes Bibliothecas antiquas diligentissime exquisiissent ac discussissent, nullum prorsus autorem ex cunctis tot sæculorum Doctoribus Ecclesiæ inuenire potuerunt, qui Lutheri dogmata comprobasset. Inuentum tandem illius Ruperti, qui ante 400. annos uixerat, opusculum, cui titulus erat, De Victoria uerbi Dei,⁴ mox Nurembergæ a Lutheranis euulgatum est. Quod suo titulo ita mox placuit omnibus Lutheranis, ut nihil uideretur eo autore desiderabilius. Interim ex Tritemio intellegebant, illum complura scripsisse opuscula, sed duo tantum paruula inuenerant: Quorum unum de potentia, alterum de uoluntate Dei inscriptum erat. In eorum æditiōe multa Lutherice apposuerat Osiander, uxoratus presbyter et prædicator, quibus pium autorem impiæ sectæ patronum facere tentabat. Et iam dudum egerant cum ipso Abbate Tuitiensi: ut reliqua Ruperti Opera Nurembergam excudenda, transmitteret. Ille uero, ut à Cochlæo audiuit, quantum periculi foret ea in re, si pium autorem traderet in manus impiorum, qui eum non solum impijs præfationibus, et annotationibus fœde contaminaturi essent: Verum etiam integros et sanos illius sensus deprauaturi, ex Catholico antiquo facturi essent hæreticum nouum, qui uideretur cuncta Lutheri dogmata ante annos 400.

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

anew. Already Pomeranus had sent forward letters to the saints who are in England,² and Luther himself had also written to the King.³ And when it was believed that the New Testament was about to follow by and bye, so great joy from that hope seized the Lutherans, and inflated them with the wind of vain confidence, that, filled with delight, they, with their vain boasting, broke the secret before its time.³

At that time John Cochlæus, Deacon of the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Frankfort, lived as an exile, at Cologne, who, by his host George Laver, Canon to the Apostles, [became] intimately acquainted with the Abbot of Deutz, when he heard that certain works of Rupert, formerly an Abbot of that Abbey, were to be sent to Nuremberg, that they might be published by the Lutherans, he began, with the greatest eagerness, both to dissuade from, and to hinder that business. For the Lutherans, even to that day, after they had diligently searched and turned over all the ancient Libraries, could find no author of all the Doctors of the Church for so many ages, who could have approved of the doctrines of Luther. At last a little work of that Rupert, who had lived 400 years before, was found. The title of it was 'of the Victory of the Word of God.'⁴ And it was forthwith published by the Lutherans; because, by its title, it so directly pleased all, that nothing more desirable could be seen than that author. In the meantime, they understood from Trithemius, that he had written many little pieces, but they had found only two; of which one was inscribed 'of the power,' the other 'of the providence' of God. In their edition, Osiander, a married priest and preacher, applied many things after the manner of Luther, by which he attempted to make the pious author the patron of that infamous sect; and now they were treating with the Abbot of Deutz himself, that he might send the rest of the works of Rupert to Nuremberg, to be printed. He, however, as soon as he heard from Cochlæus what great danger there would be in that matter, if he delivered the pious author into the hands of the impious, who were about, not only to

and do many thynges for our aduersaryes, that they also maye be saued. And this is the artykle, namely: ¶ *Christ is oure ryghtynesse*. For he is become vnto vs of God the father, wysdome, iustice, satisfaction, and redemption."

¹ On 1 September 1525, Cochlæus puts the printing at Cologne after this date: at all events his discovery of it was so.

² Note 5, p. 20.

³ Cochlæus, erroneously attributing a concerted plan to all the Protestants, has great glee over his

discovery. His representation here is quite false. It was a drunken printer, not the Lutherans, that betrayed the secret.

⁴ This edition was printed by Frederic Peypos, and finished in March, 1525, in 8vo: therefore Cochlæus first made the acquaintance of the Abbot of Deutz some time after that month. Cochlæus edited another in 4to at Cologne: the date of his dedication to the Bp. of Ely in which is iv. Idus Aprilis [10 April] 1529.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

approbasse. Abbas igitur ille, vir bonus, mutata sententia uolumina iam in grandem fascem compacta, uelut Nurenbergam transmittenda, apud se retinuit. In quo sane fasce erant XIII. libri in Euangelium Ioannis,¹ XII. libri in Apocalypsim eiusdem, et XII. libri, de Diuinis Officijs.²

Cum autem Monachi quieturi non essent, nisi aderentur opera illa: Cochläus Petro Quentellio, et Arnolde Berckmanno sedulo suavit, ut communibus inter se impensis et lucris ea opera susciperent ædenda. Persuadere tamen non potuit, donec tandem omnem suam operam ad ædicionem illam³ eis pollicitus esset. Cunque æditio illa⁴ satis quæstuosa eis existeret, non egebant amplius impulsore Cochläo, sed ipsimet ultro plura illius opuscula desiderabant: rogantes nunc Abbatem, nunc Cochläum, ut undecunque plura conquirerent. Abbas itaque ex uetustis S. Benedicti Monasterijs perquisiuit XXXII. libros in XII. prophetas minores,¹ et VII. libros in Canticum Canticorum.¹ Cochläus uero inuenit Coloniz in Bibliotheca Maioris Ecclesiz IX. libros, De glorificatione Trinitatis, et processione Spiritus sancti.¹ Et in scholis Artium grande uolumen, quod de operibus Trinitatis¹ inscriptum, XLII. complectebatur libros. E quibus in Genesim erant IX. In Exodum IIII. &c.¹ Cunque sciret Rupertum

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

basely contaminate him by impious prefaces and annotations, but even to pervert his upright and sound opinions, and of an ancient catholic were about to make a new heretic, who, four hundred years before, should seem to have approved of all the dogmas of Luther. The Abbot, therefore, good man, having changed his opinion, kept by himself volumes, already packed up into a large bundle, ready to be conveyed to Nuremberg. In this bundle there were fourteen books on the Gospel of John,¹ twelve on the Revelations,¹ and twelve books 'De Diuinis Officijs.'²

When, however, the monks were not to be at rest, unless they published these works, Cochläus earnestly entreated Peter Quentel and Arnold Byrckman that they should, on their joint expense and profit, undertake their publication; notwithstanding, he could not persuade them, till at length he had promised them, to that³ edition, all his own labour. When that became sufficiently profitable to them,⁴ they no more required Cochläus to urge them, but themselves, of their own accord, sought out more of his small works, requesting now the Abbot, and then Cochläus, that they might search for more of them in any quarter. The Abbot, therefore, thus excited, diligently searched out of the old monasteries of St Benedict, thirty-two books on the twelve minor Prophets,¹ and seven on the Song of Solomon.¹ Cochläus found at Cologne, in the library of the Greater Church, nine books concerning the Glorification of the Trinity,¹ and the procession of the Holy Spirit;¹ and in the School of Arts a large

¹ The Commentaries of Rupertus were first printed in this order.

(1) COLOGNE. 13 Books on Matthew, with 9 Books on the Trinity, etc. Cochläus' dedications are dated 20 April and 3 July 1526. Col. dated *Pridie Idus Junias* [12 June] 1526.

(2) NUREMBERG. 14 Books on John (*Protestant edition*). Col. dated July 1526.

(3) COLOGNE. The same (*Catholic edition*). Col. dated simply 1526.

(4) COLOGNE. 12 Books on the Apocalypse. Col. dated 1526. There is no printed dedication to Henry VIII. as stated by Cochläus: see p. 19.

(5) COLOGNE. 7 Books on the Song of Solomon. Dedicated by Henry, Abbot of Deutz, to Tonstall, Bishop of London, *pridie Octobres* [30 Septem.] 1526. Col. dated 1527.

(6) COLOGNE. 32 Books on the Minor Prophets. *Pio Lectori* dated 3 Sept. 1527. Col. Sept. 1527.

(7) COLOGNE. 42 Books on the works of the Holy Trinity. Ded. to Wolsey, dated 3 Sept. 1528. Col. dated Sept. 1528.

From this it is clear that Cochläus is summarizing, in the text, the whole of these transactions rather than narrating, in consecutive order, the occurrences of the one year 1526.

² Special attention should be paid to the first edition of this work: Cologne, 1526. It is printed in the same style as the present Fragment, with large black type for the headings and first lines of each book, as is here done to each chapter; but the small type is not the same. It is, however, very valuable as containing Cochläus' dated dedication to Herman, Archbishop of Cologne: 'EX COLONIA, iij. Idus Marcias [13 March] M.D.XXVI.' Up to that date at least Cochläus had not left that city. It was also the success of this book that stirred Quentel and Byrckman to seek out the other works of Rupert of Deutz. The search detailed in the text must therefore have occurred between 13 March and 20 April 1526, when Cochläus wrote his dedication dated EX MOGUNTIA, 12 Calendas Maias 1526, of the 9 books 'on the Trinity' to Bp. Fisher: see *fol.* 200. Cochläus was also at Mayence on 3 July following, when he dedicated the 13 Books *In Matthæum*, to the Archbp. of Capua: see *fol.* 200 of the same book. It would therefore appear that it was while assisting in the publication of *De Diuinis Officijs*—the earliest book of Rupert, printed at Cologne—that Cochläus obstructed the secret printing of the English Testaments. Tyndal therefore certainly left Cologne before April 1526.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

olim Leodij ad S. Laurentium fuisse Monachum, scripsit Theoderico Hezio, Canonico Leodiensi, quem Romæ post obitum Adriani VI. (cuius ille à Secretis intimis extiterat) familiarius cognouerat, obsecrans, ut is in eo Monasterio perquireret, quidnam ex Ruperti libris extaret. Ille ergo reperit maxime desideratum opus, XIII. libros in Matthæum, de Gloria et honore filij hominis. Verum transmittere Coloniam non potuit Archetypum, nisi ipse cum duobus alijs Canonicis, pro restituendo exemplari, cuncta bona sua in hypothecam Monachis obligarent.

Ea igitur uolumina uniuersa Cochlæus, Moguntiam euocatus, secum detulit, atque ibi residens, ad æditiorem præparauit, Coloniamque ædenda remisit.¹

Hinc Typographis Coloniensibus notior ac familiarior factus, audiuit eos aliquando inter pocula fiducialiter iactitare, Velint Nolint Rex et Cardinalis Angliæ, totam Angliam breui fore Lutheranam. Audiuit item, duos ibi latitare Anglos, eruditos linguarumque peritos et disertos, quos tamen uidere aut alloqui nunquam potuit. Vocatis itaque in hospitium suum quibusdam Typographis, postea quam mero incaluisset, unus eorum in secretiori colloquio reuelauit illi arcanum, quo ad Lutheri partes trahenda esset Anglia. Nempe uersari sub prælo Tria Milia Exemplarium Noui Testamenti Lutherani, in Anglicanam linguam translati, ac processum esse iam usque ad litteram Alphabeti K, in ordine Quaternionum. Impensas abunde suppeti à Mercatoribus Anglicis, qui opus excusum clam inuicturi per totam Angliam latenter dispargere uellent, antequam Rex aut Cardinalis rescire aut prohibere possit.

Cochlæus intra se metu et admiratione uarie affectus, foris mirabundus mororum dissimulabat. Altero autem die, periculi magnitudinem tristis secum expendens, cogitabat, quo nam pacto possit commode pessimis illis conatibus obsistere. Abijt igitur clam ad Hermannum Rinck, Patricium Coloniensem, ac Militem Auratum, qui et Cæsari et Regi Angliæ familiaris erat et Consiliarius, eique rem omnem, ut acceperat uini beneficio, indicauit. Ille, ut certius omnia constarent, alium misit exploratum in eam domum, ubi opus excudebatur

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

volume [which was inscribed 'of the works of the Trinity' and comprised forty-two books, of which nine were on Genesis, four on Exodus, &c.] When, however, he learnt that Rupert was formerly a Monk of St Laurence at Liege, he wrote to Theodorick Hezius, a Canon of Liege, whom he had known intimately at Rome, after the death of Adrian VI. [Sep. 1523], whose private secretary he had been, entreating that he would search out in that monastery whatever remained of the books of Rupert. He found, therefore, a work greatly esteemed—thirteen books on Matthew 'of the glory and honour of the Son of Man.'¹ He could not, however, send the original to Cologne, except he, with two other Canons, would pledge in security to the monks all their goods, for the restoration of the copy!

All these volumes, therefore, Cochlæus, being called away to Mentz, carried with him, and while residing there prepared them for publication, and sent them back, to be published at Cologne.¹

Having thus become more intimate and familiar with the Cologne printers, he sometimes heard them confidently boast, when in their cups, that whether the King and Cardinal of England would or not, all England would in short time be Lutheran. He heard also that there were two Englishmen lurking there, learned, skilful in languages, and fluent, whom, however, he never could see or converse with. Calling, therefore, certain printers into his lodging, after they were heated with wine, one of them, in more private discourse, discovered to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the side of Luther—namely, That three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and already were advanced as far as the letter K, in *ordine quaternionum* [i.e. in quarto]. That the expenses were fully supplied by English merchants; who were secretly to convey the work when printed, and to disperse it widely through all England, before the King or Cardinal could discover or prohibit it.

Cochlæus being inwardly affected by fear and wonder, disguised his grief, under the appearance of admiration. But another day, considering with himself the magnitude of the grievous danger, he cast in mind by what method he might expeditiously obstruct these very wicked attempts. He went, therefore, secretly, to Herman Rinck, a patrician of Cologne and Military Knight, familiar both with the Emperor and the King of England, and a Counsellor, and disclosed to him the whole affair, as, by means of the wine, he had received it. He,

¹ Note 1, p. 22.

COCHLÆUS' THIRD ACCOUNT.

iuxta indicium Cochlæi. Cumque ab illo accepisset rem ita habere, et ingentem Papyri copiam ibi existere: adiit Senatam, atque effecit, ut Typographis interdiceretur, ne ultra progredirentur in eo opere. Duo Apostatæ Angli, arreptis secum Quaternionibus impressis, aufugerunt, nauigio per Rhenum ascendentes Vuormacium, ubi plebs pleno furore Lutherizabat, ut ibi per alium Typographum cœptum perficerent opus. Rincus uero et Cochlæus de his mox admonuerunt literis suis Regem, Cardinalemque et Episcopum Roffensem,¹ ut quam diligentissime præcauerent in omnibus Angliæ portubus, ne merx illa perniciosissima inueherentur. (pp. 132-134.)

TRANSLATION, BY MR. C. ANDERSON.

that he might ascertain all things more certainly, sent another person into the house where the work was printing, according to the discovery of Cochlæus; and when he had understood from him that the matter was even so, and that there was great abundance of paper there, he went to the Senate, and so brought it about that the printer was interdicted from proceeding farther in that work. The two English apostates, snatching away with them the quarto sheets printed, fled by ship, going up the Rhine to Worms, where the people were under the full rage of Lutheranism, that there, by another printer, they might complete the work begun. Rinck and Cochlæus, however, immediately advised by their letters¹ the King, the Cardinal, and the Bishop of Rochester [Fisher], that they might, with the greatest diligence, take care lest that most pernicious article of merchandise should be conveyed into all the ports of England. *Annals of the Eng. Bible: i. 56-59. Ed. 1845.*

We are much indebted, in a way he did not anticipate, to the rabid zeal of Dobneck, for these circumstantial details of the secret printing of our first New Testament, which otherwise we should not have known.

III. *The Printing at Worms.*

1. Tyndale produced at Worms the Second edition in Octavo: to which he added the following his second Address.

To the Reder.

Eve diligence Reder (I exhortethe) that thou come with a pure mynde/ and as the scripture sayth with a synge eye/ vnto the wordes of health/ and of eternall lyfe: by the which (if we repent and beleve them) we are borne a newe/ created a fresshe/ and enioye the frutes off the bloud of Christ. Whiche bloud cryeth not for vengeance/ as the bloud of Abel: but hath purchased lyfe/ love/ faveour/ grace/ blessing/ and whatsoever is promysed in the scriptures/ to them that beleve and obeye God: and stondest bitwene vs and wrathe/ vengeance/ curse/ and whatsoever the scripture threateneth agaynst the vnbelevers and disobedient/ which resist/ and consent not in their hertes to the lawe of god/ that it is right/ wholy/ iuste/ and ought soo to be.

Marke the playne and manyfest places of the scriptures/ and in doutfull places/ se thou adde no interpretation contrary to them: but (as Paul sayth) let all be conformable and agreynge to the fayth.

Note the difference of the law/ and of the gossell. The one axeth and requyreth/ the wother perdoneth and forgeveth. The one threateneth/ the wother promyseth all good thynges to them that sett their trust in Christ only. The gossell signifith gladde tydynges/ and is nothyng butt the promyses off good thynges. All is not gossell that is written in the gossell boke: For if the lawe were a waye/ thou couldest not know what the gossell meante. Even as thou couldest not se perdon/ faveour/ and grace/ excepte the lawe rebuked the/ and declared vnto the thy sinne/ mysdede/ and treaspase.

Repent and beleve the gossell as sayth Christ in the fyrst of Marke. Applye all waye the lawe to thy

¹ These letters by Rinck and Cochlæus have not yet been recovered. Their being private or secret communications may partly account for this. Their

loss simply, does not invalidate Cochlæus' statements as regards facts that came within his own personal knowledge.

dedes/ whether thou finde luste in the bottom of thyne herte to the lawe warde; and soo shalt thou no dout repent/ and feale in the silfe a certayne sorowe/ payne/ and grefe to thyne herte; because thou canst nott withfull luste do the dedes off the lawe. Applie the gospell/ that is to saye the promyses/ vnto the deservynge off Christ/ and to the mercye of god and his trouthe/ and soo shalt thou nott despeare; butt shalt feale god as a kynde and a mercifull father. And his sprete shall dwell in the/ and shall be stronge in thee; and the promises shalbe geven the at the last (though not by and by/ lest thou shuldest forgett thy sylfe and be negligent) and all threatenynge shalbe forgiven the for Christis blouddis sake/ to whom commit thy silfe all togedder/ with out respect/ other of thy good dedes or of thy badde.

Them that are learned Christenly/ I besече: for as moche as I am sure/ and my conscience beareth me recorde/ that of a pure entent/ singilly and faythfully I have interpreted itt/ as farre forth as god gave me the gyfte of knowledge/ and vnderstandynge: that the rudnes off the worke nowe at the fyrst tyme/ offende them not: but that they consyder howe that I had no man to counterfet/ neither was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same/ or soche lyke thinge in the scripture beforetyme. Moreover/ even very necessitie and combrance (God is recorde) above strengthe/ which I will not rehearse/ lest we shulde seme to bost oureselves/ caused that many thynges are lackynge/ whiche necessarily are requyred. Count it as a thyng not havynge his full shape/ but as it were borne afore hys tyme/ even as a thing begunne rather then fynned. In tyme to come (yf god have apoynted vs there vnto) we will give it his full shape: and putt out yf ought be added superfluous: and adde to yf ought be oversene thorowe negligence: and will enforce to bryng to compendousnes/ that which is nowe translated at the lengthe/ and to geve lyght where it is requyred/ and to seke in certayne places more proper englysshe/ and with a table to expounde the wordes which are nott commonly vsed/ and shewe howe the scripture vseth many wordes/ which are wother wyse vnderstonde of the comen people: and to helpe with a declaracion where one tonge taketh nott another. And will endeavor oureselves/ as it were to sethe it better/ and to make it more apte for the weakke stomakes: desyrynge them that are learned/ and able/ to remember their dutie/ and to helpe there vnto: and to bestowe vnto the edyfyinge of Christis body (which is the congregacion of them that beleve) those gyftes which they have receaved of god for the same purpose. The grace that commeth of Christ be with them that love hym. Praye for vs.

From Mr. F. Fry's Handtraced-lithographed edition (of 177 copies only). Bristol, 1862.

2. Mr. A. Bower in his *Life of Luther*, 1813, under the year 1526 writes, 'The Imperial Diet assembled at Midsummer at the city of Spire, and the pressure of business was such as to require the attendance of the elector John, during several months.' p. 243.

Spalatin was with the Elector at Spire. He noted in his diary 'Saturday the morrow of St. Lawrence,' i.e. 11 August, 1526,¹ the following Table Talk:

Sabbato postridie Laurentii,¹ Princeps noster Elector Saxonie (Spiræ in comitiis imperialibus) audit in ædibus Principis Hessorum sermone, domum rediit. . . . Buschius [dixit nobis in cœna] . . . Item Wormatiæ² vi. mille exemplaria Novi Testamenti Anglice excusa. Id operis versum esse ab Anglo, illic cum duobus aliis Britannis³ divertente, ita vii. linguarum perito, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, Italicæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, Gallicæ, ut, quacunq[ue] loquatur, in ea natum putes. Anglos enim, quamvis reluctantem et invito Rege, tamen sic suspirare ad Evangelion,

On the Saturday the morrow of St. Lawrence,¹ our prince the Elector of Saxony (then at the Diet of Spire) having heard a sermon at the residence of the Landgrave of Hesse, returned to his house. . . . Buschius [told us at supper] . . . Also at Worms² 6000 copies of the New Testament were printed in English. This work was translated by an Englishman, who was staying there with two of his countrymen,³ and who was so learned in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, and French, that, whichever he spoke, you would think his native tongue. The English

¹ St. Lawrence's day is August 10. The day following was a Saturday in 1526; which proves the occurrence to be in that year.

² Worms is only some twenty miles from Spire.

³ One of these two assistants was Roy: who was the other? Certainly neither Fysh nor Frith.

ut affirmet, sese empturos Novum Testamentum, etiamsi centenis millibus æris sit redimendum. Adhæc Wormatiæ etiam Novum Testamentum Gallice excussum esse.¹—Extracts from the MS. diary of George Spälatin, printed in *Amoenitates Litterariæ* by SCHELHORN: [Francfurti et Lipsiæ, 14 vols. 8vo] *iv.* 431-2. *Ed.* 1730.

indeed have such a desire for the gospel, although the king opposes and dislikes it, that they say they would buy a New Testament, even if each copy cost 100,000 of money. In addition to this the New Testament was printed in French at Worms.¹

3. We have now come to the question; whether the Quarto was finished at Worms or elsewhere? There is no express statement on the subject; but we possess circumstantial evidence that renders it morally certain that it was completed in that city or in its neighbourhood.

Mr. F. Fry in his facsimile edition (1862) of the Octavo has demonstrated by similarity of type, water-marks, etc., beyond all reasonable doubt, that it was printed by Peter Schoeffer of Worms. It is impossible to apply a typographical test of like kind to the present fragment, for we do not possess in it even all that was printed at Cologne, by eight or sixteen pages. The evidence is therefore external: arising principally out of four points.

The above testimony of Cochläus.

α Cochläus knew nothing of the Octavo.

β He indubitably fixes the impression begun at Cologne to be the Quarto, *in ordine Quaternionum*; and that it actually consisted of three thousand copies; though it was first intended to print six thousand.

γ He states—and it was quite within his power to ascertain it—that the two Englishmen fled, with the printed sheets, to Worms, to complete the work there by another printer.

•• Cochläus, at all events, believed the Quarto to have been finished there.

Tyndale's residence at Worms: as chiefly fixed by the beginning of the Preface to the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, the printing of which book was finished 8 May, 1528. See opposite page.

δ Tyndale says of Roy, 'Neuerthelesse I suffered all thinges tyll yat was ended whych I coulde not doo alone wythout one both to wryte and to helpe me to compare ye textes together. When that was ended I toke my leue and bode him farewel for oure two lyues.' Roy therefore left as soon as the two editions had passed the press.

ε Roy left Tyndale in the spring of 1526, going to Strasburg.

ζ Tyndale was at Worms about August 1526, by the testimony of Busche.

η Tyndale was at Worms in May 1527: and had an interview with Jerome there. 'A yere after that and now. xii. monethes before the pryntinge of this worke/ came one Ierom a brother of Grenewich also/ thorow Wormes to Argentine.' . . . 'Which Ierom with all diligence I warned of Royes boldnesse.'

The fair inference is therefore that Tyndale did not leave Worms from his arrival there with Roy in October 1525 until after May 1527.

Herman von Busche's Supper-talk, on 11 August, 1526.

θ Busche's talk, combined with Cochläus' accounts, fixes the impression of the Octavo, as well as the Quarto, at three thousand copies: or Six thousand in all. For supposing signature (*i.e.* sheet) K had not actually been struck off when the printing at Cologne was stopped there; nine signatures (A to I) would have been printed; 3000 copies of which, or 27,000 sheets altogether, Tyndale and Roy must have taken with them up the Rhine. If Busche's six thousand refer to the Quarto alone, it follows that Tyndale duplicated at Worms what had already been printed at Cologne: and that having deliberately reduced the impression from its first intended number of six thousand to the three thousand actually begun there, that he had changed his mind on arriving at Worms, and increased it again to six thousand: a purposeless waste of power for which he can hardly be credited. On this assumption also the Octavo, which we know was printed at Worms, has to be accounted for.

On the other hand, it is more reasonable to believe that Tyndale did not duplicate the beginning of the Quarto, but 'completed' it, and that he printed a like impression of the Octavo. It is not necessary to

¹ I have not been able to trace any French New Testament printed at Worms in 1525. One was printed at Basle in that year.

WILLIAM ROY'S CONNECTION WITH THESE EDITIONS. 27

suppose that Schoeffer finished the Quarto: John Erffordianus, another printer about that time in Worms, may have done it, or it may have been finished in some neighbouring city. Indeed the short time in which the two editions were produced favours the employment of more than one printer.

Notices of the New Testament in England in 1526.

[†] John Pykas of Colchester confessed on 7 March, 1528, 'that about a two yeres last past, he bought in Colchester, of a Lumbard of London, a New Testament in English, and payd for it foure shillings.'

^κ John Tyball of Bumstede confessed on 28 April, 1528, 'abowght ii yeres agon he compayned with syr Richard Fox curate of Bumstede, and shewid hym al his bookys that he had: that is to say, the New Testamente in Englishe, the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in Englishe.'

^λ John Tyball and Thomas Hilles, between Whitsontide and Michaelmas 1526, bought each a Testament of D^r. Robert Barnes in the Augustine Friary, London.

^μ* All these may have been either Quartos or Octavos.

^ν Tonstall, Bishop of London, denounces *both* impressions on 24 Oct., 1526.

^ρ Archbishop Warham does the same, in almost identical terms, on 3 Nov., 1526.

^ξ Robert Necton is actually selling the Quartos in January, 1527.

^ο Henry VIII.'s preface to his English translation of his answer to Luther, early in 1527, refers to both editions.

^π Dr. Robert Ridley's letter dated 24 Feb. [1527 in all probability] pointedly refers to the Quarto.

^σ* All these occurrences—and possibly they might be multiplied—will be narrated further on. The point here to be marked is their very early date: all before Jerome called on Tyndale at Worms, in May 1527.

If then Tyndale remained in that city till after May 1527; and the Octavo, as we know it was, was printed there; and that both editions, simultaneously denounced on 24 Oct. 1526, came into England together early in that year,—a supposition that Busche's talk would favour,—it follows that Tyndale, by some printer, finished the Quarto at or near Worms.

IV. William Roy's connection with these editions.

1. In his Address above referred to, prefixed to *The Parable of the Wycked Mammon, &c.*; the printing of which work was finished by Hans Luft at Marburgh in Hesse on the 8 May 1528; Tyndale thus informs us of Roy's share in the production of the first two New Testaments.

¶ William Tyndale otherwise called Hychins to the reader

Grace and peace with all maner spirituell fealinge and lyuinge worthy of the kyndnes of Chryst, be with the reader and with all that thurst the wyl of God Amen. The cause why I set my name before this lytle treatyse and haue not rather done it in the newe testament is that then I folowed the counsell of Chryst which exhorteth men Math. vi. to doo theyr good deades secretly and to be content with the conscience of weldoynge/ and that god seeth vs/ and paciently to abyde the rewarde of the last daye which Chryst hath purchased for vs and now wold fayne haue done lykewyse/ but am compelled otherwyse to doo.

Why I abode a faythful companyon¹ which now hath taken an other vyage vpon him/ to preach christ where (I suppose) he was neuer yet preached (God which put in his herte thythter to goo sende his sprite with him/ comforte him and bringe his purpose to good effecte) one William Roye a man somewhat craftye when he cometh vnto new acquayntaunce and before he be thorow knownen and namely when all is spent/ came vnto me and offered his helpe. As longe as he had no money/ somewhat I could ruele him: but as sone as he had goten him money/ he became lyke hym selfe agayne. Neuerthelesse I suffered all thinges tyll yat was ended whych I coule not doo alone wythout one both to wryte and to helpe me to

¹ Can this be Thomas Hytton, the priest, whose martyrdom on 24 February, 1529, Tyndale felt so deeply? More, in the *Preface* to his *Confutacyon*, states that Hytton would not be 'a knownen that

hym selfe was preste, but sayed that he had by the space of. ix yeres ben beyonde the see, and there lyued by the ioyners craft.' Bb. iii.

compare ye textes together. When that was ended I toke my leue and bode him farewell for oure two lyues/ and as men saye a daye longer. After we were departed he went/ and gate him new frendes which thinge to doo he passeth all that euer I yet knewe. And there when he had stored hym of money he gote him to Argentine where he professeth wonderfull faculties and maketh bost of no small thinges. A yere after that and now. xii. monethes before the pryntinge of this worke/ came one Ierom a brother of Grenewich also/ throw wormes to Argentine/ sayenge that he intended to be Christes disciple an other whyle and to kepe (as nye as God wolde gyue him grace) the profession of his baptem/ and to gett his lyuinge with his handes/ and to lyue no lenger ydely and of the swete and laboure of those captyues whiche they had taught/ not to byleue in Chryst : but in cuttshowes and russet coetes. Which Ierom with all diligence I warned of Royes boldnesse and exhorted hym to bewarre of hym and to walke quietly and with all pacience and longe sofferinge acordinge as we haue Chryste and his apostles for an ensample/ which thinge he also promysed me. Neuerthelesse when he was comen to Argentine William Roye (whos tonge is able not only to make foles sterke madde/ but also to disceyue the wisest that is at the fyrst syght and acquayntaunce) gate him to hym and set him a werke to make rymes/ whyle he hym selfe translated a dialogue out of laten¹ in to Englysh/ in whose prologe he promyseth moare a greate deal than I fere me he wyll euer paye. . . .

Some man wyl aske parauenture why I take ye laboure to make this worke, in as moch as they wyll brunne it seyng they brunt the Gospel I answare, in brunninge the new testamente they dyd none other thyng then that I loked for/ no more shall they do yf the[y] brunne me also, yf it be gods wyll it shall so be. Neuerthelesse in translatyng the newe testamente I dyd my dutye/ and so do I now/ and wyll do as moch more as god hath ordered me to do. And as I offered that to all men to correcte it/ who soeuer coulde, euen so doo I this. Who soeuer therfore readeth this/ compare it vnto the scripture.

2. *Rede me and be nott wrothe* is a miscellany of invective verse. It was first known 'as *The burying of the mass*, from *The Lamentacion* at the beginning, which has the refrain of

'Seynge that gone is the masse,
Nowe deceased alas alas.'

The Satire is evidently written upon information such as Jerome had brought from England; say up to April 1527. Roy had a thousand copies printed of it; and another of his 'dialogue out of laten,' but not having money to pay for paper or printing to the printer, John Schoet of Strasburg, (which quite accords with Tyndale's account of his powers of gammoning,) the most part of the two impressions were pawned to the Jews of Frankfurt. Some copies however were sent into England; and Wolsey wrote,

¹ This translation is now apparently lost. The author of the original Latin work (which I have also been unable to see) is unknown. Its title is given by Park [*Harl. Misc. ix. 3*] as *Inter patrem Christianum et filium contumacem dialogum Christianum*. That this work is also the same as Roy's book against the seven sacraments is proved by the following passage in his *Supplicacyon of Soules* (in answer to Simon Fyshe's *Supplication for the Beggars*) published before More had become Lord Chancellor (25 Oct. 1529). The reference is important as fixing the order in which the several works became known in England. The dates will be seen to confirm Tyndale's statement; that Roy's two works were printed at Strasburg in 1527. 'They parceyuyng thys/ haue therefore furste as-

said the furst way all redy/ sendyng forth Tyndals translacyon of the new testamente in such wyse handled as yt shuld haue bene the fountayn and well spryng of all theyr hole heresies. For he had corrupted and purposely changed in many places the text/ with such wordys as he myght make yt seme to the vnlearned people/ that the scripture affirmed theyr heresyes it selfe. Then cam some after out in prynt the dialoque of frere Roye and frere Hyerome/ betwene ye father and ye sonne agaynst ye sacrament of ye aluter; and the blasphemouse boke entytled the beryng of the masse. [i.e. *Rede me*, &c.] Then cam forth after Tyndals wykkyd boke of Mammona [dated 8 May 1528] and after that his more wykkyd boke of obedyence' [dated 2 October 1528]. *fol. xix. b.*

on 5 August 1528, to Herman Rinck, to arrest Roy and Tyndale and to buy up all their works. Rinck's reply will be found at pp. 32-36.

3. The Invective mainly consists of *A brefe Dialogue betwene two prestes servauntes/ named Watkyn and Jeffraye* [Jerome and Roy] in which the two following passages refer to the first reception by the Hierarchy in 1526, of the New Testament in England; and in so pointed a manner as to constitute very early and important evidence on that point: as we said, not later than April 1527.

The first passage proves the private 'consistory' of the Bishops under Wolsey, deliberating what was to be done with the Forbidden Book

Wat. ¶ Art thou not a frayde to presume/
Agaynst the Cardinalls fume/
Seynge they wilbe all on his syde?

Jeff. ¶ No I do rather gretly reioyce/
That of a lytell wormes voyce/
Goddis iudgement may be veryfyed.

Agaynst soche a wicked brothell/
Which sayth/ vnder his girthell/
He holdeth Kynges and Princes.

To whom for a salutacion/
I will rehearse a brefe oracion/
dedicate vnto his statlynes.

Wat. ¶ Now gentell mate I the praye.

Jeff. ¶ Have at it then with out delaye/
Contempnyng his maliciousnes.

O miserable monster/ most malicious/
Father of perversite/ patrone of hell,
O terrible Tyrant/ to god and man odious,
Advocate of antichrist/ to Christ rebell.
To the I speake/ o caytife Cardinall so cruell.
Causles chargynge by thy coursed commandment
To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament.

Goddis worde/ grownd of all vertue and grace
The fructeous fode/ of oure faythfull trust.
Thou hast condempned in most carfull cace/
Throwe furious foly/ falce and vnjust.
O feerce Pharaof/ folower of fleshly lust.
What moved thy mynde by malyce to consent/
To brenne goddis worde/ the wholy testament.

The tenoure of thy tyranny passeth my brayne
In every point evidently to endyght.
Nero nor herod/ wer never so nouys certayne
All though of goddis lawis they had lytel lyght
Shame it is to speake howe agaynst ryght.
Thy hatfull hert hath caused to be brent/
Goddis true worde/ the wholy testament.

O perverse

O perverse preste patriarke of pryde/
Murtherer with out mercy most execrable.
O beastly brothell/ of boudry the bryde/
Darlynge of the devill/ gretly detestable,
Alas/ what wretch wolde be so vengeable?
At eny tyme to attempte soche impediment/
To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament.

God of his goodenes/ grudged not to dye/
Man to delyver from deadly dampnacion.
Whose will is that we shulde knowe perfetly
What he here hath done for oure saluacion.
O cruell kayface [Caiaphas]/ full of crafty conspi-
racion.

Howe durst thou geve then falce iudgement
To brenne goddis worde/ the wholy testament

Thy leawednes of lyvyng is loth to heare/
Christis gospell to come vnto cleare light.
Howe be it surly it is so spred farre and neare
That forto let it thou haste lytell myght.
God hath opened our dercke dymed syght.
Truly to perceave thy tyrannous intent/
To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament.

Agaynst thine ambicion all people do crye/
Pompously spendinge the sustenance of the pore
Thy haulte honour hyly to magnify/
Maketh/ theves/ traytours/ and many a whore
Wo worth the wretche of wickednes the dore
Forger of oure dayly damage and detriment
To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament

O paynted pastoure/ of Satan the Prophet/
Ragyng courre/ wrapped in a wolues skynne
O butcherly bisshop/ to be a ruler vnmete/
Maker of misery/ occasion of synne.
God graunt the grace now to begynne.
Of thy dampnable dedes to be penitent/
Brennyng goddis worde/ the wholy testament.

Mat. ¶ No more for oure lordis passion/
Thou raylest nowe of a fassion/
With rebukis most despytous/
No man shall these wordes advert/
But will iudge theym of an hert/
To procede/ most contumelious.

Jef. Though popisshe curres here at do barcke/
Yet thou mayst therin well marcke/
The will of god accompleshed.
The Cardinall thus to rewarde/
Which with oute eny godly regarde/
Desdayneth the trothe to be pubblished.
Therefore as he did the trueth condempne/
So god wil hym and all his contempne/
With the swearde of punnysshment.

Mat. ¶ They had fyrst some provocation?

Jef. ¶ None wother then the traslacion/
Of the englysshe newe testament.
Wherin the authors with mecknes/
Vtterly avoydyng conviciounes/
Demeaned them so discretly.
That with all their invencion/
They coude fynde no reprehencion/
Resistynge goddis worde wilfully.

Mat. ¶ Howe had the gospell fyrst entraunce/
Into Englonde so farre of distaunce/
Where to rede hym/ no man maye?

Jef. ¶ Goode christen men with pure affecte/
Of god singularly therto electe/
With cost did hym thether conveye.
Which/ even as Christ was betrayed/
So with hym the clargy played/
Thorowe trayterous prodicion.

Mat. ¶ Who played the parte of Iudas?

Jef. ¶ The wholy bishop of Saynct Asse/
A poste of Sittans iurisdiction.
Whom they call Doctour standisse/
Wone that is nether flesshe nor fische/
At all tymes a commen lyer.
He is a bablynge Questionist/
And a marvelous grett sophist/
Som tyme a lowsy graye fryer.
Of stommake he is feare and bolde/
In braulyng wordes a very scolde/
Menglyng venem with sugre.
He despyseth the trueth of god/
Takyng parte rather with falchod/
Forto obtayne worldly lucre.
In carde playng he is a goode greke/
And can skylle of post and glyeke/
Also a payre of dyce to trolle.
For whordom and fornicacions/
He maketh many visitacions/
His Dioces to pill and polle.

Though he

Though he be a stowte divyne/
Yett a prest to kepe a concubyne/
He there admitteth wittingly.
So they paye their yearly tributis
Vnto his dyvylisse substitutis/
Official/ or commissary.
To rehearse all his lyvynge/
God geve it yvell chevynge/
Or els some amendment shortly.

Mat. ¶ Howe did he the gospell betraye?

Jef. ¶ As sone as ever he hearde saye/
That the gospell cam to Englonde.
Immediately he did hym trappe/
And to the man in the red cappe/
He brought hym with stronge honde.
Before whose prowde consistory/
Bryngynge in false testimony/
The gospell he did theare accuse.

Mat. ¶ He did mo persones represent/

Then Iudas the traytour malivolt/
Whiche betrayed Christ to the Iues.
Jef. ¶ Thou mayst se of theym in one manne/
Herod/ Pilat/ Cayphas/ and Anne [Ananias].
With their propertis severall.
And in another manifestly/
Iudas full of conspiracy/
With the sectes pharisaicall.

They are a grett deale more mutable/
Then Proteus of forme so variable/
Which coude hym silfe so disgyse.
They canne represent apes/ and beares/
Lyons/ and asses with longe eares/
Even as they list to divyse.

But nowe of standisse accusation/
Brefly to make declaracion/
Thus to the Cardinall he spake.

Pleaseth youre honourable grace/
Here is chaunssed a pitious cace/
And to the churche a grett lache.

The gospell in oure Englysshe tonge/
Of laye men to be red and songe/
Is nowe hider come to remayne.

Which many heretykes shall make/
Except youre grace some waye take/
By youre authorite hym to restrayne.

For truly it is no handlyng/
For laye peoples vnderstondyng/
With the gospell to be busy.

Which many wone interprisynge/
Into heresy it did bryng/
Disdaynyng the churche vnreverently.

Mat. ¶ Tosshe/ these saynges are sophistical/
I wolde heare the sence mysticall/
Of these wordes right interpreted.

Yf. ¶ In fayth with out simulacion/
 This is the right significacion/
 Of his meynynge to be expressed.
 O Cardinall so glorious/
 Thou arte Capitayne over vs/
 Antichristis chefe member.
 Of all oure detestacions/
 And sinfull prevarications/
 Thou alone/ arte the defender.
 Wherefore healep nowe or els never/
 For we are vndone for ever/
 Yf the gospell abroad be spred.
 For then with in a while after/
 Every plowe manne and carter/
 Shall se what a lyfe we have led.
 Howe we have this five hundred yeres/
 Roffled theym amonge the bryres/
 Of desperate infidelite.
 And howe we have the worlde brought/
 Vnto beggery worsse then nought/
 Through oure chargeable vanite.
 Which knowen/ we shalbe abhorred/
 Reddi to be knocked in the forhed/
 Oure welth taken awaye clene.
 Therfore Tyrant playe nowe thy parte/
 Seynge with the devill thou arte/
 Gretter then eny manne hath bene.
 Put the gospel a waye quyght/
 That he come not to laye mens sight/
 Forto knowe goddis commaundements.
 And then we that are the remmenant/
 Shall diligently

Shall diligently be attendaunt/
 To blynde theym with oure commentis.
 If they have once inhiacion/
 In no maner of condicion/
 To rede goddis worde and his lawes.
 For vs doctours of theology/
 It shalbe but a smale mastery/
 To make theym foles and dawes.
 Loke what thou dost by tyranny/
 We will alowe it by sophistry/
 Agaynst these worldly villaynes.
Wat. ¶ Nowe truly this is the meynynge/
 Howe soever be the speakynge/
 Of these spretuall lordaynes.
 ¶ But what sayde the Cardinall here at ?
Yf. ¶ He spake the wordes of Pilat/
 Sayinge/ I fynde no fault therin.
 Howe be it/ the bisshops assembled/
 Amonge theym he examened
 What was best to determyn ?
 Then answered bisshop Cayphas/ *Hoc est,*
 That a grett parte better it was/ *London*
 The gospell to be condemned. *Episcopus.*
 Lest their vices manyfolde/
 Shulde be knowen of yonge and olde/
 Their estate to be contempned.
 The Cardinall then incontinent/
 Agaynst the gospell gave iudgement/
 Sayinge/ to brenne he deserved.
 Wherto all the bisshoppis cryed/
 Answerynge/ it cannot be denyed/
 He is worthy so to be served. *Ij.*

The second passage of *The dialogue* indelibly fixes the *first* burning of the printed New Testament—not, as has been often thought, on 11 February 1526, on the occasion of the humiliation of Dr. Barnes, when Bishop Fisher preached a sermon against the Lutherans *within*, and Lutheran books were burnt 'before the roode of Northern' *without* St. Paul's church: but in connection with Bishop Tonstall's sermon at Paul's Cross, after the 'conspiracy' of Wolsey and the bishops. The important allusion to *The prologge*, see *p.* 10 of the lithographed text, will be referred to again.

Wat. ¶ Holde thy peace and be content/
 The gospell by a commaundment/
 To do it will straghtly theym compell.
Yf. ¶ They sett nott by the gospell a flye/
 Diddest thou nott heare whatt villany/
 Th[e]y did vnto the gospell ?
Wat. ¶ Why/ did they agaynst hym conspyre ?
Yf. ¶ By my trothe they sett hym a fyre/
 Openly in London cite.

Wat. ¶ Who

Wat. ¶ Who caused it so to be done ?
Yf. ¶ In sothe the Bisshope of London/
 With the Cardinallis autorite:
 Which at Paulis crosse earnestly/
 Denounced it to be heresy/
 That the gospell shuld come to lyght.
 Callynge them heretikes execrable/
 Whiche caused the gospell venerable/
 To come vnto laye mens syght.

He declared there in his furiousnes/
That he fownde erreours more and les/
Above thre thousande in the translation.
Howe be it when all cam to pas/
I dare saye vnable he was/
Of one erreure to make probacion.
Alas he sayde/ masters and frendes/
Consyder well nowe in youre myndes/
These heretikis diligently.
They saye that commen women/
Shall assone come vnto heven/
As those that lyve perfectly.
Mat. ¶ And was that their very sayinge?
Jf. ¶ After this wyse with oute faynyngel
In a certayne prologe they wryte.
That a
That a whoere or an open synner/
By meanes of Christ oure redemer/
Whome god to repent doth incyte.
Shall soner come to saluacion/
By meritis of Christis passion/
Then an outwarde holy lyver.
Mat. ¶ They did there none wother thinge shewe/
Then is rehearsed in mathewe/
In the one and twenty chapter.
Jf. ¶ For all that/ he sayde in his sermone/
Rather then the gospell shulde be comone/
Bryngynge people into erreure
He wolde gladly soffre marterdome/
To vpholde the devyls fredome/
Of whom he is a confessoure.
C. ij & iij.

4. We get further information of Roy's connection with the first New Testaments from the following letter of Herman Rinck, written to Wolsey on the 4th October 1528. The original MS. is imperfect at the edges: hence the gaps in the following Latin.

HERMANN RINCK TO WOLSEY.

SANTISSIME ac gratississime pater in Christo ac domine clementissime, post humilis beneuolue servitii mei[?] titudinem ad quævis vestræ sanctitati beneplacita, obsequen grata obnixa ac sincera mente, vestram gratiam, ac paternita[tem] scire exopto, quatenus etc.

Literæ gratiæ vestræ ad me datæ per dominum Iohannem West, sacerdotem ordinis divi Francis[ci] de Observantia, scriptæ quinto Augusti, le apud¹ Hampton Korte, in vestræ gratiæ pallat[i]o mihi a Colonia ad Francofordiam in biduo celeri nuncio sunt missæ et perlata, 21 Septembris, de commercandis undique libris Anglica lingua excussis, et de capiendis Roy et Huckyneck. At illi et eorum complices a paschate² et proximis quadagesimæ nundinis Francofordiæ non sunt visi, neque scitur quo abierunt, superstites ne sint an vita functi.³ Neque Iohannes Schott, civis Argentinensis et eorum chalcographus,⁴ se scire dixit quo evanuiscent.⁵ Sunt autem ipsorum libri referti hæresi, ac contra vestræ gratiæ magnificentiam et honorem⁶ pleni invidia et infamia, qui et pessime et præter Christianam charitatem, regiam serenitatem, benignissimum dominum meum et generosissimum

TRANSLATION.

Most holy and most gracious father in Christ, most merciful lord—after offering my humble and willing service to your Holiness's pleasure, with grateful and sincere mind, I wish to inform your grace and fatherhood as follows.

Your grace's letters dated Aug. 5, at your palace of Hampton Court, were given to me by John West priest of the order of St. Francis de Observantia, at Cologne on Sept. 21, having been sent on from Frankfort by a swift messenger in two days, which letters ordered me to buy up everywhere books printed in English, and to arrest Roy and Hutchins. They and their accomplices have not been seen at Frankfort since Easter² and the market after Lent, and it is not known whither they have gone, and whether they are alive or dead.³ John Schott, citizen of Strasburg, their engraver,⁴ says he does not know whither they⁵ have vanished. Their books indeed are stuffed with heresy, full of envy and slander against your grace's glory and honour,⁶ and what is worst and contrary to Christian charity, make the king's serenity, my most kind and noble lord and illustrious prince, infamous to all worshippers of Christ. However, I, as a most

¹ for 'apud le Hampton Courte.'

² Easter Day in 1528 fell on 12 April. Therefore Tyndale, or Roy, or both of them were at Frankfort fair about April 1528.

³ Tyndale at least had gone on to Marburg, and was there when Rinck was writing this letter.

⁴ i.e. printer.

⁵ Schott possibly never knew Tyndale.

⁶ Rinck is referring to Roy's Satire.

HERMANN RINCK TO WOLSEY.

et illustrissimum principem, omnibus chisticolis infamem reddunt. Ego tamen tanquam humillimus fidelissimus et diligentissimus minister, tribus hebdomadibus¹ ante vestræ gratiæ acceptas literas, audiui et percepi illos ipsos libros Iudeis Francofordiæ certo ære vel nummo oppigneratos esse, et tum quam primum pro ipsis consequendis ex me ipso elaborabam, et sollicitus eram. Chalcographus autem Iohannes Schott præter fœnus Iudæis dandum et sui laboris mercedem et papiri sumptum exigebat, et illi se eos venditurum aiebat qui plus pecuniæ offerret. Cum itaque gratia vestra mihi literas et mandata ex Anglia mittebat, illico neque corpore neque pecuniæ neque diligentia parcebam (ut merito debebam) sed privilegiis a Cæsarea Maiestate olim acceptis utebar. Consules Francofordienses et aliquot senatores ac iudices mihi donis et muneribus conciliabam, quo libros illos omnes, omni ex loco corradere et coacervare quod et tribus aut quatuor locis factum est, ita quod spero, quotquot talium librorum excussi sunt eos apud me contineri, præter duos quos vestræ gratiæ commissarius prænominatus Iohannes West, a me exoptavit et accepit, in maiorem et frugem et utilitatem regiæ gratiæ et vestræ. Libros vero duos ipsi dedi, cum eum tum fidelem tum diligentem vestræ gratiæ comperirem, et cui sæpe inservisset, et adhuc procul dubio inserviet. Debebant autem libri ipsi, (nisi percepissem et intervenissem) in thecas chartaceas compingi et occultari, et decem inclusas sarcinis, lino obductis, callide et sine omni suspitione, per mare, tempore transmitti in Schotiam et Angliam, ut ibidem ac sola et nuda papirus venderentur, sed admodum paucos aut nullos transvectos vel venditos puto. Cæterum et . . .

. . . et procuravi coram consulibus Franckfordiensibus iuramentis acceptis [et] præstitis, quod denuo non excidentur typis æneis, tum chalcographus ipse vigore sui iuramenti exemplar scriptum et principale ad me mittere obstrictus est. Insuper et summa opera curabo in prædictis Roy et Huckyng cæterisque regiæ gratiæ et vestræ æmulis et rebellionibus, tum capiendis, tum ubi locorum agant, percipiendo, ut dominus Iohannes West et filius meus Hermannus Rynck, et Iohannes Geilkyrche, meus minister ore et præsentibus testabuntur, quibus vestra gratia non secus ac mihi ipsi fidem adhibeat et præbeat; ipsi enim rem omnem et celabunt et obticebunt, quamcumque vestra gratia ipsis commiserit, quos præcipue et præsentibus ad regiam et

TRANSLATION.

humble, faithful and diligent servant, three weeks¹ before receiving your grace's letters, heard and perceived that those very books had been pawned to the Jews at Frankfort for a certain sum of money, and then, on my own account, I laboured and endeavoured to get hold of them as soon as possible. The engraver, John Schott, demanded beside the interest for the Jews the pay for his labour and the expense of the paper, and said that he should sell them to whoever would give the most money. So, as your grace had sent me letters and commissions from England, I immediately spared neither my person, my money nor my trouble, (as I was bound to do,) but made use of the privileges previously received from his Imperial Majesty. I gained over the consuls of Frankfort and some senators and judges, by gifts and presents, so that I might scrape and heap together all those books from every place; which was done in three or four places, so that I hope that all of those books yet printed are in my possession, except two which your grace's commissary the above named John West asked for and received from me for the greater profit and advantage of the king's grace and yours. Two books indeed, I gave him, as I found him faithful and diligent for your grace, whom he has often served and doubtless will in future serve. Unless I had discovered it, and interfered, the books would have been enclosed and hidden in paper covers, packed in ten bundles covered with linen and conveyed in time by sea,² craftily and without exciting any suspicion to Scotland and England, where they would have been sold only as blank paper; but I think that very few, or none, have been exported or sold. Besides I have . . . and procured from the consuls of Frankfort a prohibition strengthened by oaths, of their further printing from copper types, and the engraver himself is bound by his oath to send me the original written copy. In addition to this, I will endeavour in every way to arrest Roy and Hutchins and other opponents and rebels of the king's grace and yours, and to find out where they live, as John West, and my son Hermann Rynck and John Geilkyrche my servant will assure you by word of mouth, to whom your grace may give credence just as to myself, for they will keep silence concerning and conceal whatever orders your grace gives them. I send them now to the king's grace and yours, chiefly on account of the favourable issue of the business, and

¹ i.e. about 1 Sept. 1728.

² By whom? Probably English merchants, who

would have repaid the Jews' loan and reimbursed Schott.

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HERMANN RINCK TO WOLSEY.

vestram gratiam transmitto, ob commodiorem ipsius negotii exitum, et ut rem gratam regiæ et vestræ gratiæ exhibeam et faciam. Totaque vita mea cum omnibus et prognatis et posteris hac in re sollicitus et sedulus ero provisor. Neque mei laboris, conatus et pecuniæ a me expensæ elapsis multis annis neque per me neque meos posteros expetam et efflagitabo, sed singula regiæ gratiæ et vestræ promissis committo, prorsusque confido permagnæ vestræ providentiæ, iuxta operam meam quam collocavi in electione Cæsareæ Majestatis, et regiæ gratiæ, et secundum vestra pollicita, si sponsalia inter Cæsarem Carolum et regiæ gratiæ filiam progressum et exitum sortita fuissent, tum in ipsis omnem meam impendissem diligentiam et industriam, tum per me, tum meos et cognatos et affines omnibus modis expeditissem. Nunc vero sponsaliciis non executis vel progredientibus, spero alio beneficio regia gratia me condonabit, ut suæ gratiæ literæ apertius indicabunt.

Præterea, anno domini 1502, mensis Augusti, maximum privilegium a Cæsarea Maiestate regiæ gratiæ in Anglia et intercursum negotiatorum a Cæsarea Maiestate concessum largissima libertate, impetrare iuvi et opitulatus sum, per Cæsaris et regiæ gratiæ commissarios in usum et commodum omnium in Anglia regiæ gratiæ subditorum, ut manifestius est eo in loco, ubi episcopus Cantuariensis Doctor Dominus Warren, antea commissarius cum Carolo de Sowmerschett, piæ memoriæ, camerario regis Angliæ, decem millia librarum sterlingarum contulit regiæ gratiæ, dum ego, nomine Cæsareæ Majestatis, huius regis patri præsens obtuli privilegium, præsentibus suis optimatibus, et consiliariis, in le Westmunster, tum religiosis, tum secularibus, simul et decem millia librarum sterlingarum data accepi mittenda Cæsari Maximiliano, quæ eidem Cæsari et contuli et meo secreto sigillo libera comprobavi et soluta esse testatus sum, proprioque et nomine et cognomine in maiorem fidem meipsum subscripsi, ac ambasiatorem vel legatum Cæsareæ Maiestatis decuit, quod Cæsarea Maiestas eiusque successores illud ratum et sancitum habere deberent, ipsumque a Cæsare Carolo nunc et renovatum et confirmatum æstimo, vel saltem augendum regiæ gratiæ facile sit passurus, et consensum concessurus, ad quod consequendum, humile et exiguum obsequium (si Anglia vestra opus habuerit, et Regia gratia mihi mandaverit) paratissimum et me sine mora advent . . . iure debeo, ac sponte volo, aut vellem, ad Cæsaream Maiestatem in Hispaniam aut alibi, quorsum sua Regia gratia tunc

TRANSLATION.

that I may show and do a thing pleasing to the king's grace and yours. During the whole of my life, I, with all my children and posterity, will carefully and sedulously attend to this matter, and will not ask or demand, either personally or by my descendants, any return for the labour, trouble and money which I have spent for many years, but I commit everything to the promises of the king's grace and yours, trusting completely in your great prudence, in consideration of the assistance which I gave the king's grace at the election of his Imperial Majesty, and according to your promises, if the espousals between the Emperor Charles and the king's grace's daughter had been proceeded with and taken effect; in which I used all my diligence and industry, and employed all my relations and connections. Now that the espousals have not been executed and are not still in progress, I hope that the king's grace will favour me with some other kindness, as his grace's letters openly declare.

Besides, in the year 1502, in the month of August, I aided and assisted in obtaining a great privilege from the Emperor's Majesty, for the king's grace in England, and the mercantile intercourse which was granted with the most ample liberty by the Imperial Majesty, through his and the king's grace's commissioners, to the profit and advantage of all the king's grace's subjects in England; as was more apparent at the time when the bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Warham, formerly commissioner with Charles Somerset, of pious memory, chamberlain of the king of England, offered in the name of the king's grace, £10,000 sterling; while I, in the name of the Emperor's Majesty, offered in person the privilege to the father of the present king, in the presence of his peers and counsellors spiritual and secular, at Westminster, and received the £10,000 sterling to be sent to the Emperor Maximilian, to whom I gave the said sum and attested the delivery with my own private seal, signing my own name and surname for greater security, as was fit for an ambassador or legate of the Emperor's Majesty; and the Emperor's Majesty and his successors ought to keep it valid and secure. I believe that it has now been renewed and confirmed by the Emperor Charles, or at least he would easily allow it to be increased, and would grant his consent to the king's grace; in obtaining which I offer my humble and small but ready service, (if England has need and the king's grace orders,) and would go without delay, (as I ought of right, and as I freely wish and would wish to do,) to the Emperor's Majesty in Spain or elsewhere, wherever the

1531, and *d.* 13th September, 1544), journeying into Spain, wrote a letter to the king, from Bordeaux, on 2nd December, 1525, in which he thus announces what he had learnt in his hurried journey through France in the previous month of November.

Please it your Highnesse to undrestand that sithen I found so large occasion by Englishe merchaunts, your subjects I could no lesse than advertise your Grace as well howe farr I am proceded in my iornaye, as also of the successe in the same. This seconde daye of Decembr I arrived at Burdeaulx, afre a continuall and as diligente jorneye as this pouer bodie and my cariages togidr would suffr, not sparinge oone daye, Sondayes onelie except, and oone day at Parisse, for the relief of my self and my hors. In certayne places, as Bolayne, Mottrell, Abbevil, Bloys, and this towne Burdeaulx, I fownd cortesie and honor in the reverence of your royall Majestie. At Pariss, Orleans, and oodr, besides thees rehersed, none. The people shewe them self joyfull of the peax, wiche they wisse to be perdurable, God knowethe they have mutche neede of it. . . .

Please it your Highnesse moreover to undrestand that I am certainlie informed as I passed in this contree that an Englishman, your subject, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whome he is, hathe translated the Newe Testament in to English, and within fewe dayes entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in Englonde. I neede not to advertise your Grace what infection and daunger may ensue heerbie, if it be not withstonded. This is the next way to fulfill your realme with Lutherians. For all Luthers perverse opinions bee grownded upon bar words of Scriptur not well taken ne vndrestonded, wiche your Grace hathe opened in sondrie places of your royall Booke. All our forfadres, governors of the Chürche of Englonde, hathe with all diligence forbed and exchued publication of Englishe bibles, as apperethe in Constitutions provincial of the Chürche of Englonde. Nowe, Sir, as God hathe endued your Grace with Christen courage to sett forth the standard against thies Philistees and to venquish them, so I doubt not but that he will assist your Grace to prosecute and performe the same; that is to vndre treade them that they shall not nowe againe lift vppe their hedds, wiche they endeavor nowe by meanes of Englishe Bibles. They knowe what hurte such books hath doone in your Realme in tymes passed.

Hidretoo, blessed bee God, your Realme is save from infection of Luthers sect, as for so mutche that althowg anye peradventur bee secretlie blotted within, yet for fear of your royall Majestie, wiche hathe drawn his swerd in Gods cause, they dar not openlie avowe. Wherefor I can not doubt but that your noble Grace will valiantlie maignetaine that you have so noble begonne.

This realme of Fraunce hathe been somewhat tooched with this sect, in so mutche that it hathe entred amongs the Doctors of Parisse, wherof some bee in prison, some fled, some called in *judicium*. The bisshophe also of Meulx, called Melden, is summoned for that cause, for he suffred Luthers perverse opinions to bee preched in his diocese. Faber also, a man hidretoo noted of excellent good lief and lernyng is called among them, but somme saye heer for displeasur, whiche I can well think. The Parliament of Parisse hath had mutche business to repress this Sect. And yet, blessed be God, your noble Realme is yet unblotted. Wherefor lest any dawnger myght ensue, if thies Books secrete lie shold bee brought in, I thought my dute to advertise your Grace therof, considering that it toochethe your highe honor, and the wealthe and integrite of the Christen fayth with in your Realme; whiche can not long endur if thies Bookes may come in. The Holie Gost evermore assist your noble Grace. At Burdeaulx, the seconde daye of Decembr. . . . Your most humble preest, subject, and almosinar—EDOUARDE LEE. Sir Henry Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3 S. ii. 72. The original is MSS. Cotton. Vesp. c. iii. fol. 211. Orig.

2. The famine in London in 1527 leading to a vastly increased importation of Corn could have nothing to do with the *first* introduction of the Testaments by March 1526; though it may have facilitated their later importation. Edward Halle's account is as follows:

By reason of the great raynes, which fel in the sowing time and in the beginning of the last yere now in the beginning of thys yere come began sore to fayle throughout the realme, in so mutche that in the citie of London, bread for a while was very skant and people did starue daily for bread, for wheat so fayled

that none could be gotten for money. Sauyng that the king of his goodnes sent to the cite of his owne prouysion, vi. C. [six hundred] quarters, or els for a weeke ther had ben litle bread in London, yet was the scarcitie more then yederth. For then wheat was only at xv. s. [xvi. 5s. od.] the quarter, and from thence it rose to xx. s. [xvi. 5s. od.] and after to xxvj. s. viii. d. [xvi. 5s. od.] the quarter. Men sayd that the negligence was in sir Thomas Seimer knyght then Maior. Many substanciall men would haue made prouision for their houses, but they feared lest the comminaltie would haue taken it from them. Then were commissions sente into all shires and commissioners appoynted to see what wheat was in the realme, and the commissioners ordered that no wheate should be conueyed out of one shire to another, which commaundment had lyke to haue raysed trouble, and specially the cite of London with the same was sore agreed, for thei had no arable ground to sowe, but must make prouision with money, which prouision was them denied in diuerse shires by that commaundement, wherat the citezens grudged, so the Maior and Aldermen seyng that the people began to murmure, came to the Cardinall and moued him of ye mischiefe that was like to ensue: either the people must dye for famyne or els they wyth strong hand wil fetch come from them that haue it. To whom he answered yat they should haue wheat ynough out of Fraunce, for the French kyng seyde to me quod the Cardinall that yf he had but thre bushels of come in all Fraunce, Englande should haue twayne so muche he loueth and regardeth this realme; with this answer thei departed and euery day looked for French wheat, but none came: and farther such wheat as ye Marchauntes of England had brought and shipped in Normandy, and other places were ther restrained, so that the relefe ther failed, but the gentle marchauntes of ye Styliard brought from Danske, Brene, Hambrough and other places great plentie, and so did other marchauntes from Flanders, Holand and Frislande, so that wheat was better chepe in London, then in all England ouer. Then the people sayd, se how we had bene serued by the Frenchmen in our necessitie if th[e]mperors subiectes had not holpen vs. For this kindnes the common people loued th[e]mperor the better and al hys subiectes. The kyng of hys goodnes hearyng that ye wheat in Fraunce was stopped, mused not a litle, and so for comfort of thys cyty of London he lent M [a thousand] quarters, for ye whych they both thanked him and prayed for hym. Then wythin short space the marchauntes of London so diligently made prouysyon in all places for Wheat and Rye, that after Christmas [1527-8] they lacked none, and al the parties adioynyng to them wer fain to fetch wheate of them and none to them was denied, notwythstanding their vnknown commaundment geuen that the Londoners should none haue of them. *The xix. yere of Hen. VIII.* [22 Apr. 1527—21 Apr. 1528.] Fol. 166-7.

3. A principal person on the continent, connected with the Importation of the New Testaments into England was Richard Harman, a merchant of the English factory at Antwerp, respecting whom there is the following Royal prescript extant.

By the Quene.

Anne the quene Trustie and right welbiloued we grete you well/ and where as we be credible enformed
[*This is the queen's autograph*] that the berer hereof Richard Herman marchaunte and citizen of Antwerpe in Brabant was in the tyme of the late lorde Cardynall put and expelled frome his fredome and felowshipe of and in the Englyshe house there for nothing ells (as he affermethe) but oonly for that that he dyd bothe withe his gooddis and pollicie to his greate hurte and hynderans in this worlde helpe to the setting forthe of the newe testamente in Englyshe/ we therefore desire and instantly praye you that with all spede and fauoure conuenient ye wold cause this good and honest marchaunt being my lordis true faithfull and loving subiecte restored to his pristyne fredome libertie and felowshipe aforesaid and the sonner at this oure requeste, And at your good leysur to here hym in suche thinges as he hathe to make further declaration vnto you in this behalf Geuen vndir our signett at my lordis manoure of Grenewiche the xiiijth daye of May.¹

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 350.

Addressed on the back. To oure trustie and right welbiloued Thomas Cromwell esquier chief Secretary vnto my lorde the kinge hyghnes

Endorsed on the back. The Queenys Grace letters for Richard Harman.

¹ The year is 1534. Cromwell was acting as Secretary of State in April 1534: and was not made a Lord, until 9 July 1536.

We possess in a collection of State correspondence between England and the Low Countries in 1526-31, now *Cott. MSS., Galba B. ix.*, further information respecting Richard Harman's imprisonment at Antwerp, on the accusation of John Hackett, the English Envoy. Harman and his wife were sent to prison on 12 July 1528; and being charged first with being heretics, afterwards with being traitors, were remanded from time to time, while Hackett was endeavouring to obtain proofs of his accusation; which failing to do, they were discharged on 26 February 1529. Hackett writing in December 1528 states that Harman estimated this imprisonment to have entailed a loss of two thousand guilders [\pounds 200 then, equal to \pounds 3000 now]; and the above 'letters' of Anne Boleyn's show that he was expelled of the English House at Antwerp. When Hackett therefore happened, on the 7 April following, to be in that city, Harman got him arrested for false imprisonment, but the Amant and Lords of the city after long deliberation released him. Whereupon Hackett appealed to the Margrave, and on the 12th April the Amant and Lords of Antwerp were summoned to the court at Mechlin, and there reprimanded and directed to apologise for the affront given to the English Envoy; which they did. Meanwhile Harman sustained 'greate hurte and hynderans in this worlde.'

We have in the first of Harman's two petitions to the Emperor, in July 1528, both written in Flemish, the exact grounds of his first accusation; for the following abstract of which I am indebted to Edward Leven, Esq., M.A., of the British Museum.

To the Emperor. Richart Hermans and his wife, arrested by the Margrave of Antwerp (1) for having received books from a German merchant (viz. New Testament in English without a gloss¹), and sold them to an English merchant who has had them conveyed to England; did not know he had done wrong, because he is 'no clerk' [!]. (2) Also accused of sheltering suspected Lutherans; if so, he did it unwittingly, as many people are in the habit of lodging with him. (3) Also accused of eating meat on Saturday; did so with the knowledge and consent of his priest. As money is due by and to him, and he has much business with English merchants, who may soon depart and so leave him without means to pay his debts, begs the Emperor will give the Margrave an order to release them on solvent bail, promising to return to prison when ordered; especially as he has never supported any of Luther's opinions. *fol. 131. Orig.*

4. Here, as in our researches we leave the continent and return to England, we cannot but call special attention to the secret, we might almost say organised action of English merchants abroad, by whom Tyndale was sustained. Tyndale lands at Hamburgh, an unknown man, in May 1524; within eighteen months he has printed three books, counting Matthew and Mark as one: which apparently involved an investment of money approaching to \pounds 10,000 of the present day. He had to pay Roy and to defray the

¹ Although the date, July 1528, is comparatively late, this can be no other than the Octavo, inasmuch as Harman bought them of a German merchant.

No other English edition printed in Germany before this date is known.

expenses of living, travelling, and the like ; yet whether at Hamburg, at Cologne or at Worms, at Marburg or at Antwerp, he is personally cared for and supported in his great work. Money never failed him. We trace this assistance especially, in that the first impression of the Quarto was reduced from 6000 to 3000 not on the score of money but from fear of detection. And not only Tyndale, but Roy also. Had not Rinck been quick, the English merchants would have redeemed his anti-papal works from pawn, and scattered them through England. We know not the extent of this strong Protestant anti-Wolsey feeling, for many of the early printed English Protestant books which were produced abroad before 1532, such as *Hortulus Animæ* in English, the very earliest editions of *The Primer*, and the like, appear to have utterly perished. Yet there are sufficient of such works extant to show how heartily many English merchants on the continent laboured for the Reformation of their own country.

5. The printed English Testaments being ready, there was a people prepared to receive them. For upwards of a century, amid all manner of national vicissitudes, the Lollards had been multiplying written copies of the original translation of Wycliffe and of its revised version by John Purvey. They had increased, despite continuous persecution ; and were now a scattered unorganised association of tradesmen, craftsmen, and such like, especially numerous in those districts nearest the continent and therefore most accessible to influences from without, as in London and the Eastern Counties. Many of them learnt to read—an unusual accomplishment among the lower classes at that time ; and where they could not read, they often committed to memory entire doctrinal treatises or dialogues, if they were short ; or whole gospels or epistles of the New Testament. Fewer of them could write, yet it was through the devotion of those few that so many copies of the whole or portions of Holy Writ were spread through the country. They knew each other by the names of *brethren* and *sisters in Christ*, or as *known men* and *known women*. We get an explanation of these latter titles in the following passage of a book entitled *The Repressor of over-much blaming of the Clergy*, which one of their adversaries, Reginald Pecock, then Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote against them about the year 1449.

The firste of tho textis is writen 1. Cor. xiiiije c. in the eende thus : *Sotheli if eny man vnknowith, he schal be vnknown.*¹ Bi this text thei taken that if eny man knowith not or putte not in what he mai his bisynes forto lerne the writing of the Bible, as it lijth in text, namelich the writing of the Newe Testament he schal be vnknown of God forto be eny of hise. And for this, that thei bisien hem silf forto lerne and knowe the Bible, namelich the Newe Testament, in the forme as it is writun word bi word in the Bible, thei geuen a name propre to hem silf and clepen hem silf *known men*, as thoug alle othere han them ben

¹ This is a very corrupt translation by Wycliffe. The Authorised Version has it, *But if any be ignorant, let him be ignorant* : 1 Cor. xiv. 38. The designation, though a perversion—very excusable consider-

ing that all the learning of the age was against them—based upon a mistranslation, shows how eager these men were after the Word of truth, as the revelation of the will and mind of God.

vnknownun; and whanne oon of hem talkith with an other of hem of sum other iijje [third] man, the heerer wole aske thus: 'Is he a knowen man?' and if it [be] answerid to him thus: 'Yhe, he is a knowen man,' al is saaf, perel is not forto dele with him; and if it be answerid to him thus: 'He is no knowen man' thanne perel is castid forto miche homeli dele with him. *i.* 53. *Ed.* 1860.

While Lollardism had thus long been a standing element in the religious life of England; there had lately come into the country from the continent two distinct influences of dissent; the new 'learning,' Hebrew, Greek, Plato, and the like; and the new 'faith,' the teaching of Luther and his colleagues. What Lollardism had done for the artisans, these two influences were doing for the Universities, and some of the clergy and monks; unbinding their hearts from old delusions, attaching utterly new ideas to old familiar words, revealing a new way of salvation—faith simply on the Saviour of mankind—and especially giving insight into the depth, beauty, fulness, and sufficiency to teach, of the Sacred Scriptures. Now the Papal system was, and is chiefly founded upon false ideas being attached to words which are unquestionable. The English Hierarchy, as we shall presently see, instinctively felt that the sting of Tyndale's translation lay precisely in this. Tyndale also knew this to be the point of attack of all others, and inserted the following *Prologge* entirely for this purpose; that right ideas should be attached to well known words. The three thousand errors with which his translations were charged were for the most part but so many new meanings attached to old words. We shall see presently the grossly dishonest way in which that number of exceptions was arrived at. Meanwhile we realise the superlative value and importance of a simple truthful translation of the Scriptures over all mere attacks or arguments, to the turning of the minds and hearts of Englishmen to a truer knowledge and a purer love of the Triune God.

6. One of the chief agents in the distribution in England was SIMON FYSHE, the author of *The Supplicacyon for the Beggars*. John Fox gives the following account of this boldhearted man in his *Actes, &c.*

Maister Symon Fyshe, borne of a Noble stock, a gentleman of graies inne, one of a tal stature. A. xxxvi. yeare a goo the fyrst yeare after he came to London to dwell [which was about ye yeare of our Lord, 1525. *Ed.* 1570] there was a-certeine playe made by one maister Roo of the same inne gentilman, wherein partly ther was matter a geinst the Cardinall Wolsey. And where none durst take vpon them to playe that part which touched the saide Cardinall, this forsaide maister fishe toke vpon him to do it wherupon great displeasure followed vpon the Cardinalls part. In somuch as he being pursued by the said Cardinall the same night this tragedy was plaid, was compelled of force to voyde his owne house, and so fled ouer sea vnto Tindall. vpon occasion wherof the next yeare following this boke was made, [(being about the yeare 1527) *Ed.* 1570] and so [not long after in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528, was *Ed.* 1570] sent ouer to my Lady Anne Bulleyn, who then lay at a place not farre from the Courte. Whiche booke her brother seinge in her hande, tooke it and reade it, and gaue it her againe, willing her earnestly to giue it to the king, which thing she so did. *1st Ed.*, 1563; *p.* 448; *2nd Ed.*, 1570, *p.* 1152.

We have quoted this statement merely to confute it in some particulars. There is an earlier description of this play, which was performed in the Christmas of 1526-7. Tyndale was at that time in Worms.

F

This Christmas was a goodly disguisynge plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by Master Iohn Roo, seriant at the law. xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any auctoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lorde gouernaunce was ruled by dissipacion and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euil order, lady Publike wele was put from gouernaunce, which caused Rumor Populi. Inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignitie, to ryse with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipacion, and to restore Publik welth again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparell, with straunge diuises of Maskes and morishes that it was highly praised of all menne, sauynge of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been diuised of hym, and in a great furie sent for the saied master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, and after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them hyghly rebuked and threatened, and sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete, but by the meanes of freendes Master Roo and he wer deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym, as you haue harde, wherefore many wysemen grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and euer the Cardinall saied that the Kyng was hyghly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymselfe. *The xviith. yere of Hen. VIII.*: [22 Apr. 1526—21 Apr. 1527] *fol.* 154. *Ed.* 1548.

There is a letter, date 6 February 1527, in the State Paper Office, of Archbishop Warham, deprecating the excessive punishment of Serjeant Roo. The date of the play is therefore beyond question. It is certain that Fyshe did not go beyond the seas to Tyndale, in January 1527. He may for a time have been in hiding: otherwise when the storm had blown over he occupied his own house in Whitefriars up to the spring of 1528, and was busily engaged in superintending the sale of the New Testaments which he had received from Richard Harman.

William Rastell, Serjeant at law, who edited the English 'Workes' of his uncle Sir Thomas More, states that *The Supplicacyon of Soulys* was 'made' in 1529. It was certainly *written* after Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* (the printing of which, at Marburg in Hesse, was finished on 8 October 1528) had reached England, as the note at *p.* 28 testifies. It could therefore have hardly been *written* until early in 1529. It was *published*—as the title-page of the first edition witnesses—while More was still only Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and therefore before 25 October 1529, when he became Lord Chancellor. More was also abroad signing the Treaty of Cambrai in July and August [the treaty was signed on 5 August], and with the King at Woodstock in September: his *Supplicacyon* was therefore in all likelihood *written* in the spring of the year, though it may have been published while he was on the continent.

The composition of More's *Supplicacyon* fixes with certainty the *publication* of Fyshe's *Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, to which it is a prompt reply, to have been early in 1529. 'That dyspytuouse and dyspyteful person/ which of late vnder pretexte of pyte/ made and put forth among you/ a boke that he namyd the supplicacyon for the beggars/' *fol.* 1. Fox states that Fyshe's Invective was 'throwen and scattered at the procession in Westminster upon Candlemas day, before the king,' and that Wolsey caused his servants 'diligently to attende to gather them up that they should not come into the kinges handes.' *pp.* 445-9. *Ed.* 1563.

Fyshe may have gone abroad as soon as the persecution of 1528 arose; and there printed his *Supplicacyon*, which is a small eight-paged tract, now excessively scarce. Anyhow he was soon back again in London; where he died in 1530.

7. But the most precise evidence as to the Distribution is to be found in the confession of ROBERT NECTON, made apparently at London in 1528. It is reprinted by Strype from the Registries of the Bishop of London. There is no date, but it was certainly made about the middle of that year. Necton distinctly refers to this Quarto edition as 'of the great volume,' 'of the biggest': to the Octavo edition as 'of the smal volume': and to the first surreptitious edition, printed by Christopher Endhoven at Antwerp in the autumn of 1526, in the edition that was offered to him about Christmas 1527, by the 'Duche' *i.e.* German man. He also gives us information as to the prices at which the Testaments were sold.

HE bowght at sondry tymes of Mr Fyshe dwellyng by the Whight Frears in London, many of the New Testaments in English; that is to say, now v. and now x. And sometyne mo. and sometyne less; to the nombre of xx. or xxx. in the gret volume. The which New Testaments the said Mr Fyshe had of one Harmond, an English man, beyng beyond see. But how many he had this respondent cannot tell. And this respondent saith, that about a yere and half agone he fell in a quain-tance with Vicar Constantyne here in London. Which shewed this respondent first, that the said Mr Fyshe had New Testaments to sell; and caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments of Mr Fyshe. And the said Mr Fyshe, at the desire and instance of Vicar Constantine, broughte the said New Testaments home to this respondents house. And before that Vicar Constantine caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments, he had none, nor no other books, except the chapters of Matthew.¹

And moreover, this respondent saith, that about the same tyme he sold fyve of the said New Testaments to Sir William Furboshore synging man, in Stowmarket in Suffolk, for vii. or viii. grotes a pece [2s. 4d. or 2s. 8d. equal to £1 15s. od. or £2 os. od. now]. Also, two of the same New Testaments in Bury St Edmonds: that is to say, to Raynold Wodelesse one; and Thomas Horfan another, for the same price.

Also, he saith, that about Cristmas last, he sold one New Testament to a Priste; whose name he cannot tell, dwellyng at Pycknam Wade in Northfolke; and two Latin books the one *Oeconomia Christiana*;² and the other *Unio Dissidentium*.³ Also, one Testament to William Gibson merchaunt man, of the parish of S. Magaret Patens.

Also, Vicar Constantyne at dyvers tymes had of this respondent about a xv. or xvi. of the New Testaments of the biggest. And this respondent saith, that the sayd Vicar Constantyne dyvers tymes

¹ Evidently Tyndale's first publication.

² This book has defied my research. All I can learn of it is its fuller title, *Economica Christiana rem christianam instituens*.

³ A Protestant work by the 'venerable' Doctor, Herman Bodius. Of the Latin editions of separate parts, separately issued one after the other, before 1527, I have been unable to see a copy; but have inspected a French edition, *L'union de toute discordie*, printed by Martin Empereur at Antwerp in 1532. It is a collection of passages of Scripture and of extracts from 17 of the early Fathers; and has for its motto *Spes mea Iesus*. The first treats of (1) Adam's transgression and original sin. (2) All men are sinners through Adam. (3) How

we are delivered from sin, and concerning infant baptism. (4) Concerning predestination, vocation, justification, and glorification. (5) Concerning the double law, *i.e.* the natural law and the positive law. (6) The works of the law. (7) Of judicial law and the secular sword. (8) Of grace and merit. (9) Of faith and its works.

The second part treats (10) Of the sufficiency of the word of God. (11) Of penitence and the three modes of confession. (12) Of brotherly rebuke. (13) Of abstinence and fasting. (14) Of prayer. (15) Of the labour of the hands. (16) Of pardons and indulgences. (17) Of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. (18) Of the order of the ecclesiastical constitution. (19) That

bowght of him certayne of the sayd New Testaments; and this respondent lykewise, of hym. Also, he sold Sir Richard Bayfell two New Testaments unbound, about Cristmas last; for the which he payd iiis liiij. d. [£2 10s. od.]

Farthermore, he saith, that he hath sold v. or vi. of the said N. Testaments to diverse persons of the cite of London, whose namys, or dwellyng places, he doth not remember.

Moreover, he saith, that since Easter last, he bowght of Geffray [Lolme] Usher of Saynct Antonyes, with whom he hath byn aqueynted by the space of a yere, or therabout (by reason he was Mr Forman, the person of Hony Lane his servant, and for that this respondent did moche resort to the said persons sermons) xviii. N. Testaments in English of the smal volume, and xxvi. books, al of one sort, called *Oeconomia Christiana* in Latin; and two other books in Latin, called *Unio Dissidentium*. For which he payed hym xl s. [£30.] Of the which *Oeconomia Christiana* Vicar Constantyne had xiii. at one tyme.

And of which N. Testaments since Easter this respondent caryed xv. of them, and the other xxiii. *Oeconomia Christiana*, to Lynne, to sell. Which he wold have sold to a young man, called William merchant man, dwellyng by one Mr. Burde of the same towne. Which young man wold not medle with them, because they were prohibite. And so this respondent left the said books at Lynne with the said William, untill his retorning thider ayen. And so the said bookes do remayne ther still, as yet. And two of the said N. Testaments he hath in his own custodie, with another of the great volume. Also, another Testament of the smal volume he sold since Easter to young Elderton, merchant man, of Saynct Mary Hill parishe.

Howbeit he saith, that he knew not that any of thies bookes were of Luthers sect.

To the xviiiij. article of the Indictment], That he hath byn a *receptor*, he saith, that he twice or thrise hath byn in Thomas Mathews house of Colchestre. Whereas he hath red diverse tymes in the N. Testament in English, before the said Thomas Matthew, his wife, William Dykes, and other servantes ther. And there, and then have herd old Father Hacker speke of propheties; and have had communications of diverse articles; which he doth not now remember.

To the xixth, so begynnyng, *That he went about to by a great nombre of N. Testaments*, he saith, that about Cristmas last, there came a Duche man, beyng now in the Flete, which wold have sold this respondent, ii or iii hundredth of the said N. Testaments in English: which this respondent did not by; but sent him to Mr Fyshe to by them: and said to the Duche man, Look what Mr Fyshe doth, I wil do the same. But whether Mr Fyshe bowght any of them, he cannot tell: for which iii. hundredth he shold have paid xvij. vsh., after 1xd. a pece. [£300 at 9d. would amount to £11 5s. od.: representing 11s. 3d. and £168 15s. od. now. The price offered was evidently put at the very lowest.]

To the xx. article, *That he is infamed*; he saith, that since Easter last, he was at Norwiche at his brothers house, wher as one had complayned of this respondent to my Lord of Norwiche, because he had a N. Testament. Wherfor his brother counceled this respondent to send or delyver his said N. Testament: and said to him, If he wold not delyver it, my Lord of Norwiche would send him to my Lord of London, his Ordinary. And so afterwards he sent it to London by the caryer.

To the xxi. article, so begynnyng, *That contrary to the prohibition, he hath kept the New Testament*, he confessith, that after he had knowledge of the condemnation of the said N. Testament, by the space of a yere, or more, he hath had in his custodie, kept, and studied the same Testament, and have red it thoroughly many tymes. And also have red in it as wel within the cite and diocess of London, as within the cite and diocesse of Norwiche. And not onely red it to himself, but redd and tawght it to diverse other.

To the xxii. he answeyeth and denyeth, that he had Wycliefs Wycket or the Apocalips at any tyme.

J. STRYPE, *Eccles. Mem. I. Part II. pp. 63-5. Ed. 1822.*

Per me ROBERT NECTON.¹

all the faithful are priests, kings, and prophets; but all are not ministers of the church. (20) Of the honour due to saints. (21) Of the burial of the dead. (22) Of Antichrist. (23) Of the flight and persecutions of Christians. (24) Of the essence of divinity. The Fathers quoted are Ambrose, Athanasius, Augustine, Bede, Bernard, Chrysostom, Clemens, Cyprian, Cyril, Fulgentius,

Gregory, Hilarius, Jerome, Lactantius, Origen, Tertullian, Theophylactus. This work was of great value in proving that the doctrine of the Reformers agreed with that of the Fathers and of Scripture.

¹ The general tenour of the confession would seem to show that Necton was answering three general charges; as to the Quarto, then as to the Octavo, then as to the Antwerp impression.

Necton, whose brother was Sheriff of Norwich in 1530, and who himself appears to have been of good position, does not seem to have carried on this hazardous work of colportage for the sake of money; but to have sold the Testaments approximately at cost price, viz. at about two shillings or two shillings and sixpence each, bound [equal to £1 10s. 0d. to £1 17s. 6d. each].

If three thousand copies were struck off of each edition by Tyndale's printers; the amount invested by the English merchants, who supported him in the two impressions, at two shillings each copy, was £600, representing £9,000 of the present day. It would seem also from the above, that the Octavo copies were cheaper than those in Quarto: but Necton's deposition is not sufficiently clear to determine by how much.

8. Respecting Constantine¹ and Necton, there is the following later information in Sir Thomas More's *Confutacyon of Tyndales Answere*, 1532: with which we must here dismiss them.

As George Constantyne ere he escaped, was redy to haue in worde at the leste wyse abiured all that holy doctryne [*More is speaking derisively*] what his herte was god and he know, and peradventure the deuyll to yf he entended otherwyse. But surely there was entended toward hym somewhat more good, then his dealyng had byfore deserued. And so mych the more fauour was there mynded hym, in that he semed very penytent of his mysse vsynge of hym selfe, in fallynge to Tyndales heresydes agayne. For whyche he knowledged hym selfe worthy to be hanged, that he hadde so falsely abused the kynges graciouse remysyon and pardon geuen hym byfore/ and hadde for all that in the whyle both bought and solde of those heretycall bokes, and secretly set forth those heresydes. Wherof he shewed hym selfe so repentaunt, that he vttered and dysclosed dyuers of hys companyons, of whom there are some abiured synnys, that he wyste well were abiured before, namely Rycharde Necton whyche was by Constantynes deteccyon taken and commytted to Newgate/ where except he happe to dye before in pryson, he standeth in grete paryll to be ere it be longe, for hys fallynge agayne to Tindales heresydes burned.

How be it Necton now syth he was taken sayed that hys wyfe had burned them. But it is well knownen that Necton had hym selfe and a man of hys also, solde many such bokes of heresyde, bothe in London and in other shyres syth his abiuracyon. Cc.i.

How be it as for Constantyne as I sayd before, semed in pryson here very penytent, and vtterly mynded to forsake such heresydes and heretykes for euer. In profe wherof he not onely detected as I sayd hys owne dedes and his felowes, but also studyed and deuysed how those deuelysshe bookes whyche hym selfe and other of hys felowes hadde brought and shyppe, myghte come to the bysshoppes handes to be burned. And

¹ The following somewhat *incorrect* account of this man may be preserved in a note.

George Constantine, born about 1504, received his education in Cambridge university, and was bachelor of canon law 1524. Adopting Protestant opinions he went to Antwerp, where he assisted Tyndale and Joye in the translation of the New Testament, and the compilation of various books exposing the corruptions of the church and the superstition of the age. Whilst in Brabant he practised for a year as a surgeon. About 1530 he was seized on a visit he made to England for the dispersion of prohibited books. He was examined by sir Thomas More, and is said to have made disclosures as to his associates

abroad in order to escape punishment for heresy. It seems however that sir Thomas More set him in the stocks, and that he made his escape and went again to Antwerp. He was residing in Wales 1539. About 1546 he became registrar of the diocese of St. David's, and in 1549 archdeacon of Carmarthen. He was one of the principal accusers of Ferrar bishop of St. David's, but before the death of that prelate was reconciled to him. In 1559 he became archdeacon of Brecon, which office was vacated the same year by his death. It appears that he was married, and had a daughter who was the wife of Thomas Young, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and ultimately archbishop of York. C. H. and T. COOPER, *Ath. Cantab.* i. 205, Ed. 1858.

therefore he shewed me the shyppmannes name that had them, and the markes of the ferdellys, by which I haue synnyys hys escape receyued them. And it maye be by goddes grace, that though the man fled hense for feare of suche harme as he wyste he had well deserued/ and yet was nothyng towards hym, but peradventure more good then he was ware of: he is yet amended in hys mynde and hath in hys harte forsaken all Tyndales heresyys, and so I pray god it be/ for I wold be sory yat euer Tyndale sholde glory and boste of hys burnyng. How be it in the meane whyle, tyll it may well appere that he be surely turned to the catholyke fayth agayne, I wil aduyse all good crysten folke and specyally the kynges subiectes, to forbere and estyew [eschuewe] hys company. For yat englyshe man which shall be founden to be famylary wyth hym there, before his conuersyon here knowen and proued, maye therby bryng hym selfe in suspicyon of heresy, and happely here thereof at hys retournynge hyther. Cc. ii.

9. It is with regret that we cannot enter here into the story of ROBERT BARNES, D.D., the Augustine monk of Cambridge; of his Sermon on Christmas Eve, 24 Dec. 1525, and the consequent trouble that came to him through it until it climaxed in that 'gorgeous fasyng with myters, and crosstaues, abbots and pryours,' with Wolsey enthroned at their head, at St. Paul's on Sunday 11 Feb. 1526. There Barnes was put to open penance and thence returned to the Fleet, where he remained about six months. After which he was a free prisoner at the Augustine Friary in London, where we have the following pictures of him, actively engaged in the distribution of the printed New Testaments.

John Tyball of Steeple Bumsted, on 28 April 1528, deposed as follows.

Furthermore, he saythe, that at Mychaellmasse last past was twelve monethe this respondent and Thomas Hilles came to London to Frear Barons, then being at the Freers Augustines in London, to buy a New Testament in Englishe, as he saythe. And they found the sayd Freer Barons in his chamber; wheras there was a merchant man, reading in a boke, and ii. or iii. more present. And when they came in, the Frear demawnded them, from whence they cam. And they said, from Bumstede; and so forth in communication they desyred the sayd Freer Barons, that th[e]y myght be aquaynted with hym; because they had herd that he was a good man; and bycause they wold have his counsell in the New Testament, which they desyred to have of hym. And he saithe, that the sayd Frear Barons did perseve very well, that Thomas Hilles and this respondent were infected with opinions, bycause they wold have the New Testament. And then farther they shewyed the sayd Frear, that one Sir Richard Fox Curate of Bumstede, by ther means, was wel entred in ther lernyng; and sayd, that they thoughte to gett hym hole in shorte space. Wherefore they desyryd the sayd Frear Barons to make a letter to hym, that he wold continew in that he had begon. Which Frear did promyse so to wryte to hym a letter at afternoone, and to gete them a New Testament. And then after that communication, the sayd Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewyd the Frear Barons of certayne old bookes that they had: as of iii. Evangelistes, and certayne Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe. Which bookes the sayd Frear dyd little regard, and made a twyte of it, and sayd, A poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englishe. For it is of more cleynre Englishe. And then the sayd Frear Barons delyverid to them the sayd New Testament in Englyshe: for which they payd iiis iiii d. [6s 12s. 6d.] and desyred them, that they wold kepe yt close. For he wolde be loth that it shold be knowen, as he now remembreth. And after the delyverance of the sayd New Testament to them, the Frear Barons dyd lyken the New Testament in Latyn to a cymball tynkkyng, and brasse sowndyng. But what farther exposition he made uppon it, he cannot tell. And then at afternone they fett the sayd letter of the sayd Frear, which he wrote to Sir Richard: and red that openly before them, but he doth not now remember what was in the same. And so departyd from hym; and did never since speke with hym, or wryte to hym, as he saithe. Also, he saithe, that abowgh a half year agone, he delyverid the sayd New Testament to Frear Gardyner: which he never had ageyne.

J. STRYPE. *Eccles. Mem. I. Part II., pp. 54-5. Ed. 1822.*

Harl. MSS. 421, fol. 35, contains what is without doubt the correspond-

ing deposition of T. Hilles, servant of Christopher Raven a tailor of Wytham. It runs thus :

Also he saithe that abowt whytsonyde was twelf moneth he came to london with Iohn Tyball and speke with frear barons at frears Augustyns in his chambre and the said Iohn Tyball told the said frear barons that they came from Cantebrige to by some of the new testaments. And in his chambre they fownde a young gentleman whom he did not know hauyng a chayne about his neck, to whom the said frear did rede in the newe testament and this respondent taryed still in his chambre and herd hym rede a chapitour of powle as he remembrith and after that done I. Tyball moued the said frear barons of sir Richard Ffox and shewed that sir Richard was well lerned and rekened that he wold do well wherefore he desyred frear barons that he wold wryte a louyng letter to the said sir Richard which frere barons so wrote a letter to the said sir Richard which letter after he had wryten it he did rede it to this respondent and Iohn Tyball, howbe it he doth not now remembre what was conteyned in it and deluyered to Tyball. And afterward eche of them bowght a new testament in Englishe of hem and paid iijs [£2 5s. od.] for a pece, which he kept after that it was forboyden [? Sept. or Oct. 1526] vntyll the sonday before myd lent last past [8 March 1528]. In which new testament he red in Roger a Tanner house of bres Gyfford, bower hall, mother Bochers and mother Chartes, and at last sold the said new testament to sir Richard Ffox.

10. Of the labours of GEOFFRAY LOLME, STEPHEN FORMAN, S.T.P., and other suspected Distributors, not much detailed information has come down to us.

11. These Testament-Circulators deserve to be held in perpetual honour. They were anti-Papists before the Testaments arrived in this country. They instinctively saw in them the great instruments of deliverance of the people from priestly thralldom that weighed so heavily upon them : and at the hazard of all their worldly health and wealth, they devoted themselves to the dangerous work of their distribution far and wide.

12. It may be interesting to close this section with the records of the earliest possession of the printed New Testaments in England, viz. in March and April 1526, as yet known.

John Pykas, a baker of Colchester, confessed on 7 March 1528 :—

That about a v years last past at a certayne tyme his mother then dwelling in Bury sent for hym and moudy hym that he shuld not beleve in the sacraments of the church for that was not the ryght way. And then she delyvered to this respondent. on[e] booke of powles Epistles in Englyshe and bide hym lyve after the maner and way of the said epistles and gospells and not after the way that the church doth teche. Also about a ij yere last past he bowght in Colchester of a lumbard of london a new testament in Englishe and paid for it iiijjs [£3] which new testament he kept by the space of iiij yeris [? months] and red it thorowly many tymes. And afterward when he hard that the said new testament was forboden that no man should kepe them. he delyvered it and the book of powles Epistles to his mother ayen. *Hart. MSS. 421. fol. 17.*

John Tyball of Steeple Bumsted, already quoted, confessed on 28 April 1528 :—

Furthermore, he saythe, that abowght ii yeris agon he companyed with Sir Richard Foxe Curate of Bumstede, and shewid hym al his bookys that he had ; that is to say, the New Testamente in Englishe, the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in Englishe ; which he had of John Pykas of Colchester ; and a book expounding the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Credo* ; certain of Powles Epistles in Englishe, after th[e] old translation ; the iiij Evangelists in Englishe.

J. STRYPE. *Eccles. Mem. I. Part II., pp. 52-3. Ed. 1822.*

VI. *The Persecution in England.*

The hunting down of the Book (and it is with that chiefly that we have to do) preceded the punishment of its readers.

1. Our earliest printed information of the very first action of Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishops respecting the destruction of the printed New Testaments comes to us in the name of the King himself.

Luther, on 1st Sept. 1525, wrote his second letter to Henry VIII.; but with bad taste published it before the King himself received it, which was not till the 20th of March, 1526. Some time afterwards Henry printed his answer, with Luther's letter; prefixing to both a short preface *Pio Lectori*; all three in Latin: in a small book entitled *Literarium, . . . quibus respondet ad quandam epistolam Lutheri*, the printing of which was finished by R. Pynson on the 2nd of December, 1526.

Not satisfied with this, Henry subsequently had this work translated into English: *A copy of the letters wherin the most redouted and mighty prince| our sowerayne lorde kyng Henry the eight| kyng of Englande and of Fraunce| defensor of the faith| and lorde of Irelande: made answere vnto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther| sent vnto hym by the same| and also a copy of ye foresayd Luthers letter| in suche order| as here after followeth*: which was also printed by Pynson, without date: but the latest date assignable to it cannot be long after the beginning of 1527. For Jerome doubtless got the account he gave to Roy of the Episcopal 'consistory,' from it.

To this English translation there was added in the King's name a special preface in which occurs the following passage.

For we doute nat but it is well known to you all| that Martyn Luther late a frere Augustyne| and now ron out in Apostacy and wedded| hath nat onely scraped out of the asshe| and kyndeled agayne| almost all the embres of those olde errors and heresydes| that euer heretyke helde sythe Christ was borne hytherto: but hath also added some so poysoned pointes of his owne| so wretched,| so vyle| so detestable| prouokynge men to myschefe| encoragynge the worlde to syn| preachynge an vnsaciāt lyberte| to alleden them with all| and finally| so farre against all honesty| vertue and reason| that neuer was there erst any heretyke| so farre voyde of all grace and wyt| that durst for shame speke them. We therefore seying these heresydes sprede abroad| and inwardly sorowynge so many christen soules to ron to ruyne| as hath done in other regions| by the occasion of suche pestylent errors| entyndynge for our parte| somewhat to set hande therto| wrote after our meane lernynge| a lytell treatyse| for the assertyon and probatyon of the holy sacramentes: In whiche we reprobued| and as we trust| sufficiently refuted and conuynced| the most parte of the detestable heresies of the sayde Luther| contayned in his abhominable boke| entytuled *de Babilonica Captiuitate*. For angre and furye whero| vpon two yeres after| Luther wrote and sent oute agaynst vs a boke| nothyng answering to ye mater| but all reason sette asyde| stuffed vp his booke with only furious raylynge| whiche his boke we regardynge| as it was worthy| contempned and nat wolde vouche safe any thing to reply| reputynge our selfe in Christes cause| nat to good with a ryght meane man to reason or contrary| but nothyng metely frutelesse with a leude Frere to rayle. So came it than to passe| that Luther at laste| parceyuyng wyse men to espye hym| lerned men to leaue hym| good men to abhorre hym| and his frantike fauourers to fall to wracke| the nobles and honest people in Almaygne| beyng taught by the profe of his vngratytous practyse| moche more hurt and myschefe to folowe thero| than euer they looked after| deuyse a letter to vs| written| to abuse them and all other nations| in such wyse| as ye by the contentes thero| hereafter shal well

perceyue. In whiche he fayneth himselfe to be enformed/ that we be tourned to the fauour of his secte. And with many flatering wordes/ he laboreth to haue vs content/ that he myght be bolde to write to vs in the mater/ and cause of the gossell: And therupon without answer had from vs/ nat onely publysshed the same letter and put it in print/ of purpose that his adherentes shulde be the bolder/ vnder ye shadowe of our fauour/ but also fell in deuyce with one or two leude persons/ borne in this our realme/ for the translatyng of the Newe testament in to Englysshe/ as well with many corruptions of that holy text/ as certayne prefaces/ and other pestylente gloses in the margentes/ for the aduancement and setting forth of his adboynable heresydes/ entendencyng to abuse the gode myndes and deuotion/ that you oure derely beloued people beare towards the holy scripture/ and to enfect you with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errors. In the aduoydyng wherof/ we of our especiall tendre zeale towards you/ haue with the deliberate aduyse of the most reuerende father in god/ Thomas lorde Cardynall/ legat de Latere of the see apostolyke/ Archebyssshop of yorke/ primate and our Chauncellour of this realme/ and other reuerende fathers of the spyritualtye/ determyned the sayd and vntreue translatyons to be brenned/ with further sharppe correction and punisshment against the kepars and reders of the same/ rekenyng of your wisdomes very sure that ye wyll well and thankfully parceyue our tendre and louyng mynde towards you therin/ and that ye will neuer be so gredy vppon any swete wyne/ be the grape neuer so plesaunt/ that ye wyll desyre to taste it/ beyng well aduertised yat your enemy before hath poysoned it.

¶ We therfore our well-beloued people/ nat wylling you by such subtell meanes/ to be disceyued or seduced/ haue of our especiall fauour toward you/ translated for you/ and gyuen out vnto you/ as well his said letter written to vs/ as our answer also made vnto the same: By the sight wherof/ ye may partely parceyue bothe what the man is in hym selfe/ and of what sorte is his doctrine.

From the Bodleian copy of this excessively rare tract.

There was then indubitably a secret deliberation of the Cardinal and the Bishops at some time after Tonsall's arrival home in April, 1526; and, as we shall immediately see, before or in the October following.

2. One of the first results of this concerted action was the sermon at Paul's Cross by Tonsall, Bishop of London, in which he told the people that there were three thousand errors in the translation, and made the other statements quoted by Roy, see pp. 30-31. On this occasion Tyndale's New Testaments were first officially denounced, and publicly *burnt*.

Though the date of this Sermon and *Auto da fè* cannot be exactly recovered, it may provisionally—until demonstrative proof turns up—be placed in September or October of that year.

A confused rumour of the occurrence reached even to Rome; and there is extant a letter of Cardinal Campeggio to Wolsey, dated Rome, 21 November, 1526, which begins with the following passage—

Non possum non maxime lætari, cum quotidie intelligam a serenissimo et potentissimo Rege nostro ope[ra] et diligentia Illustrissimæ Dominationis vestræ, aliquod opus gloriosum et salutare pro tuenda religione Christiana in isto su[o] regno geri, sicuti nuper cum summa eius laude et gloria auditum est, Majestatem suam sacrum B[ibliæ] codicem, qui ad peruertendum pias fidelium simplicium mentes a perfidis abominandæ sectæ Lut[heranæ] sectatoribus uernaculo sermone deprauatus, et ad eius regnum delatus fuerat, iustissime comburi fecisse. Quo certe nullum gratius omnipotenti

I cannot but greatly rejoice, when I hear daily from our most serene and most powerful king, that by your most illustrious Lordship's assistance and diligence, a glorious and saving work is being carried on in his kingdom for the protection of the Christian religion; as, for instance, we lately heard, to his Majesty's great praise and glory, that he had most justly caused to be burnt a copy of the Holy Bible, which had been mistranslated into the common tongue by the faithless followers of Luther's abominable sect, to pervert the pious minds of simple believers, and had been brought into his kingdom.

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Deo holocaustum fieri potuit. Persistat igitur Illustrissima [Dominatio vestra] in ea in qua est specula, et pium Christianissimumque illud regnum a tam scelerata et peruersa heresi, (uti semper fecit) tueatur atque defendat. Vt Maximi Regis nostri proprium decus sit Ch[ristianam] fidem non minus felicissimis armis quam diuino ingenio summis lucubrationibus et exacta dilige[n]tia a sceleratis hostibus protexisse et in tutiorem, felicioremque statum redegissee. Quod ego, qui eiu[s] incomparabiles uirtutes optime noui, omnibus affirmo, et futurum certissime confido.—
Cott. MSS. Vit. B. viii. 164.

Assuredly no burnt offering could be more pleasing to Almighty God.

May your most Illustrious Lordship long continue on your present watchtower, and protect and defend, as you have always done, that pious and most Christian kingdom, from so accursed and perverse a heresy, so that the peculiar glory of our great king may be to have protected the Christian faith from the accursed enemies, not less by successful war, than by his divine talents, great studies, and careful diligence, and to have brought the faith into a safer and more happy state. Of this, I, who well know his incomparable virtues, assure every one, and I most assuredly trust that it will be so.

Henry may have himself, as a symbolical and official act, burnt one copy of Tyndale's translation (for no English Bible existed at the time or for long after); but it is far more reasonable to take the Rumour in Rome as originating from the Burning at Paul's Cross. If so, allowing a month backwards from 21 November for the news to travel to the Papal Court, we get the middle of October as the approximate date of Topstall's Sermon and Bonfire.

3. This seems the more probable: inasmuch as without doubt that Sermon and its attendant Fire were only a part of a general scheme of attack on the Forbidden Book: and it was on the 24th of October, 1526, that Tonstall issued the following injunction to his four Archdeacons of London, Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, after the manner of the following one.

Cutbertus permissione diuina Lond. Episcopus dilecto nobis in Christo Archidiacono nostro Londo. seu eius officiali, salutem gratiam et benedictionem.

Ex pastoralis officij nostri debito ea quæ ad subiectionem nostrorum periculum, et maxime ad interfectionem animarum earundem tendere dinoscuntur, salubriter propellere et totis viribus extirpare astringimur. Sane ex fide dignorum relatione ipsaque rei euidencia, ad nostram iamdudum peruenit noticiam, quod nonnulli iniquitatis filij ac Lutherane factionis ministri quos summa excaecauit malicia, a via veritatis et orthodoxæ fidei declinantes, sanctum dei euangelium in vulgare nostrum Anglicanum subdola versutia transferentes ac nonnullos hæreticæ prauitatis articulos et opiniones erroneas perniciosas pestíferas, scandalosas et simplicium mentium seductiuas intermiscentes, illibatam hactenus sacræ scripturæ maiestatem, suis nepharijs et tortuosis interpretationibus prophanare, et verbo domini sacrosancto et recto sensu eiusdem callide et peruerse abuti tentarint. Cuius quidem translationis non-

TRANSLATION BY JOHN FOX.

Cutbert by the permission of god, byshop of London, vnto our wellbeloued in christ the Archdeacon of London, or to his officiall, helth grace and benediction.

By the deuty of our pastorall office, we are bounde diligently with all our power to forsee, provide for, roote out and put away all those things, which seme to tende to the perill and daunger of our subiectes and specially ye destruction of ther soules, wherfor we hauing vnderstanding by ye reporte of diuers credible persones, and also by the euident appaurance of the matter, that many children of iniquitie maintainers of Luthers sect, blinded through extreame wickednes, wandring from the way of truth and the catholike faith, craft[e]ly haue translated the new testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many hereticall articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensiuie, seducing ye simple people, attempting by their wicked and peruerse interpretations to prophanate ye maiestie of the scripture, whiche hetherto hath remayned vndefiled, and craftely to

nulli libri impressi quidam cum glosis, quidam sine glosis, vt accepimus, dictum pestiferum et perniciosum virus in vulgari idiomate in se continentes in promiscuam nostrarum dioc. et iurisdictionis Lond. multitudine sunt dispersi, qui sane gregem nobis commissum, nisi citius prouideatur tam pestifero veneno et mortifero prauitatis hæreticæ morbo, proculdubio inficient et contaminabunt in animarum nobis commissarum graue periculum et diuinæ maiestatis grauissimam offensam.

Vnde nos Cuthbertus episcopus ante dictus de predictis magnopere dolentes et antiqui hostis calliditati ire, quam suis satellitibus ad animarum subditorum nostrorum interemptionem subministrat, obuiam curaque pastoralis super grege nobis commissio diligenter inuigilare ac remedia opportuna præmissis adhibere cupientes, vobis coniunctum et diuisim committimus ac firmiter in virtute sanctæ obedienciæ qua nobis tenemini iniungendo mandamus, quatenus autoritate nostra moneatis monerive faciatis omnes et singulos tam exemptos quam non exemptos, infra vestrum Archidiaconatum vbi libet commorantes, quatenus infra xxx. dierum spacium quorum quidem dierum decem pro primo, decem pro secundo, et decem pro tertio et peremptorio termino sub excommunicationis pœna ac criminis hærescos suspicionis incurrendæ eis assignamus, omnes et singulos huiusmodi libros translationem noui testamenti in vulgarem linguam factam continentes ad nos seu nostrum in spiritualibus vicarium generalem inferat et realiter tradant. Et quid in præmissis feceritis nos aut vicarium nostrum huiusmodi infra duos menses a die dati presentium debite certificare personaliter vel per literas vestras patentes vna cum præsentibus autentice sigillatas non omitatis sub pœna contemptus.

Dat. sub sigillo nostro 24. die mensis Octobris An. M.D. 26. nostræ cons. An. quinto.

Fox, *Actes, &c.*, p. 449. 1st Ed. 1563.

abuse the moste holy word of God, and the true sence of the same, of the whiche translation there are many booke imprinted, some with gloses and some without, containing in the english tongue that pestiferous and moste pernicious poyson dispersed throughout all our dioces of London in great number, whiche truly without it be spedely forsene without doubt will contaminate and infect the flocke committed vnto vs, with moste deadly poyson and heresy. To the greuous perill and daunger of the soules committed to our charge, and the offence of gods diuine maiestie.

Wherefore we Cuthbert the byshop aforesaid, greuously sorowing for the premisses, willing to withstande the craft and subtletie of the auncient enemy and his ministers, which seke the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heade vnto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to prouide speedy remedies for ye premisses, we charg[e] you iointly and seuerally, and by virtue of your obedience, straightly enioyne and commaund you that by our autortyie you warne or cause to be warned, all and singular aswell exempte as not exempt, dwelling with in your Archdecon[rie]s. that with in. xxx. daies space, whereof ten daies for the first. x. for the second and. x. for ye third peremptory terme, vnder payne of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresie, they do bring in and really deliuer vnto our vicar general, all and singular such booke conteyning the translation of ye new testament in the English tongue, and that you doo certyfy vs or our said commissary, within. ii. monthes, after the day of the date of these presents, dewly, personally or by your leters, together with these presentes, vnder your seales, what you haue done in the premisses, vnder paine of contempt.

Geuen vnder our seale the xxiii[j]. of October, in the v. yeare of oure consecration.

4. A further presumption of a previous examination of the Translation, and a concerted plan respecting it, may be found in that the *gravamen* of Archbishop Warham's Mandate of 3 Nov., 1526, as addressed to Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, is identical with that of Tonstall's Injunction.

Willielmus, permissione divina Cant. archiepiscopus, etc. vener. confratri nostro domino Johanni, Dei gratia Exon. episcopo, vestrove vicario in spiritualibus generali, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charitatem.

Ex pastoralis officii nostri debito ea, quæ ad subjectorum nostrorum, periculum et maxime ad interencionem animarum earundem tendere dignoscuntur, salubriter propellere, et totis viribus extirpare astringimur. Sane ex fide dignorum relatione ipsaque rei evidentia ad nostram jamdudum pervenit notitiam, quod nonnulli iniquitatis filii, ac Lutheranae factionis ministri, quos summa excaecavit malitia, a via veritatis et orthodoxæ fidei declinantes, non modo sanctum Dei evangelium, sed etiam reliquam Novi Testamenti partem in vulgare nostrum Anglicanum subdola versutia transferentes, ac nonnullos hæreticæ pravitatis arâculos, et opiniones erroneas, perniciosas, pestiferas, scandalosas, et simplicium mentium seductivas intromiscentes, illibatam hactenus sacrae scripturae majestatem, sub nefariis et tortuosis inter-

pretationibus profanare, et verbo Domini sacrosancto, et recto sensu ejusdem callide et perverse abuti temptarunt. Cujus quidem translationis nonnulli libri impressi, quidam cum glossis, quidam sine glossis, ut accepimus, dictum pestiferum et perniciosum virus in vulgari idiomate in se continentes, in promiscuum vestrarum dioec. et provinciae Cant. multitudinem sunt dispersi, qui sane gregem nobis et vobis commissum, in [ni]icitius provideatur, tam pestifero veneno, et mortifero pravitatis haereticae morbo proculdubio inficient, et contaminabunt, in animarum nobis et vobis commissarum grave periculum, et divinae majestatis gravissimam offensam.

Unde nos Willielmus, archiepiscopus antedictus, de praedictis magnopere dolentes, et antiqui hostis calliditate, quam suis satellitibus, ad animarum dictorum nostrorum subditorum interemptionem subministrat, obviam ire volentes, vos hortamur et nihilominus (quia res gravis praejudicii agitur) in virtute sanctae obedientiae firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus cum ea, qua decet, celeri diligentia moneatis, monerive faciatis omnes et singulos, tam exemptos quam non exemptos, infra vestram dioec. ubilibet commorantes, quatenus infra 30. dierum spatium, quorum quidem dierum decem pro primo, decem pro secundo, et decem pro tertio et peremptorio termino, sub excommunicationis poena, ac criminis haereseos suspicionis incurrando eis assignetur, omnes et singulos huiusmodi libros, translationem Novi Testamenti, vel aliquam ejus particulam in vulgarem linguam factam continentes, ad vos seu vestrum in spiritualibus vicarium generalem inferant, et realiter tradant per vos seu vestram auctoritatem igni committendos. Et quid in praemissis feceritis, nos citra ultimum diem mensis Januarii prox. post datam praesentium per literas vestras patentes autentice sigillatas, numerum librorum hujusmodi ad manus vestras obtentu praefatae monitionis delatorum, ac per vos, ut, praemittitur, numeratorum [incineratorum¹] in se continentes, una cum praesentibus debite certificare non omittatis sub poena contemptus.

Dat. in manerio nostro de Lamehith tertio die mensis Novembris, anno Dom. M. D. xxvi. et nostras transl. xxiii. Wilkins *Concilia Magna Britanniae*, iii. 706. Ed. 1737.

5. Then probably in order of time next came King Henry's *Preface* to his people, about the beginning of 1527; quoted above.

6. There is also a short but singularly important note from Dr. Robert Ridley, chaplain to Tostall, Bishop of London, to Henry Golde, nephew and chaplain to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, which possibly gives the title of this Quarto New Testament. The date is only 24 February; but we believe from the absence of any mention of the later Protestant literature (Tyndale's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and the like) and the general tenor of the note, that the year is without any doubt 1527.

Robert Ridley to Henry Golde.

Maister Golde, I hartly commande me vnto you. As concernyng this common and vulgare translation of the new testament in to englishe, doon by Mr. William Hichyns, otherwais called Mr. W. Tyndale, and frear Willam Roy, manifeste lutheranes heretikes and apostates, as doth oppynly apier, not only by their daily and continuall company and familiarite with Luther and his disciples, ibot mych mor by their commentares and annotations in Mattheum et Marcum in the first prent,¹ also by their peface in the 2d prent,² and by their introduction in to the epistle of Paule ad Romanos³ al to gither most posoned and abhominable hereses that can be thowght; he is not filius Ecclesiae Christi that wold receaue a godspell of such damned and precised heretikes, thowh it wer trew, lyk as Paule and our Saviour Crist wold not take the trew testimonial of Evil Spretes that prased Criste trew saying *Quod filius dei erat*,⁴ et quod ipse Paulus *seruus esset veri Dei*.⁵ As for errors if ye haue the first prent with annotations in Mattheum et Marcum, and the peface,⁷ al

¹ True readings in the copy in Voysey's Register ii. 51. at Exeter. See Foxe's *Acts*, etc., iv. 704. Ed. by Rev. S. Townsend, M.A., 1846.

John Voysey, alias Harman, was Bishop of Exeter between 31 Aug., 1519, and 14 Aug., 1551.

² Separate publications simultaneously published.

³ The present Quarto.

⁴ An adaptation by Tyndale of Luther's Preface, translated into Latin by Justus Jonas in 1522.

⁵ Mark iii. 11. ⁶ Acts xvi. 17. ⁷ i. e. *The Prologge*.

is mere frenesy, he saith that euangelium nihil est aliud quam dulcis promissio gratiæ,¹ so that by that meanes pœnitentiam agite, is no part of the euangelion, the pater noster is no part of the godspell, ihe maledicti in ignem eternam, no part of the euangelion bot only such *appropinquabit regnum colorum, inuenietis requiem animabus vestris.*³ Also he writ[eth] in that preface and annotations that there is no difference between virginite and an hoor of the stewes, if she cum to repentaunce.⁴ Also that lyk as no man doth evil to the entent that he show[d] be punyshed or hanged therefor, so no man showd do good to haue any rewarde therefor,⁵ contra *ad faciendas iustificationes tuas propter retributionem,*⁶ et ad Hebræos de Mose *aspiciebat enim in remuneratorem alias remunerationem,*⁷ et illud, *facite vobis amicos de mammona, ut cum defeceritis, recipiant eos in aeterna tabernacula.*⁸ Also that by good warkes we do no thyng merite,⁹ contra illud, ad Corinthos, *ut referat unusquisque prout gessit siue bonum, siue malum,*¹⁰ et illud genes[is] eos] ad Abraam, *quod fecisti hanc rem etc.*¹¹ item illud Matthæi, *quod sitivi et dedistis mihi potum &c.*¹² et, *venite benedicti patris mei.*¹³ Also he saith that he that doth any thyng to haue hy place in heven, he is Satanice et Luciferine superbus.⁴ I haue none of thies bowkes bot only I remembre such thynges I redde in the prefaces and annotations. As for the texte of the godspell first the title is hereticall, saying that it is prent as it was written by the euangelistes:¹⁴ cum neque consentiat cum antiqua translatione neque cum Erasmo; this is the bowk of generacion of iesus the sonne of Abraam and also the sonne of Dauid.¹⁵ Cum in archetypo sit nominatus absolutus, et in illo, *filii Abraam, filii David,*¹⁶ &c. fit sensus, ipse unum solum affert eumque minus germanum; *voluit clam ab ea diuertere,*¹⁷ he wold haue putt hir away; in quo omnes peccaverunt¹⁸ ad Romanos, in so mych that euery man hath synned. et homo stultissime, *pœnitentiam agite,*¹⁹ repent.²⁰ By this translation shall we losse al thies cristian wordes, penance, charite, confession, grace, prest, chirche, which he alway calleth a congregation, quasi turcharum et brutorum nulla esset congregatio, nisi velit illorum etiam esse ecclesiam; Idololatria callith he worshipping of images. I wold that ye showd haue seen my lordes bowkes. As for the translation in Franche without any postille it is for certane condemned in Parys decreto publico,²¹ thow it be trewly doon, condemned I say, that it shal not be lawfull to publishe it to euery layman—bot by prests *quorum labia custodiunt scientiam.*²² and so it was in the old law and in the tyme of the apostles. Vide Suturem de translatione biblie.²³

I certify you if ye look well, ye shal not look iij lynes without fawt in al the bowk, bot I haue not the bowk to marke tham owt, ye shold haue had lasure yourself to haue doen it, how be it, it becummyth the people of Criste to obey and folow their rewellers which hath geuen study and is lerned in such matters as their people shoud heir and beleve, thai shoud not iudge the doctrine of Paule ne of Paule vicars and successors bot be iudged by their learnyng as long as thai know nothyng contrary Goddes lawes as Saynt Bernard saith most goodly and clerly in libro de dispensatione et præcepto.

Vale in al haist.

Your awne, ROBERT RIDLEY, priest.

Item, illud Pauli, *stultas questiones evita etc.*²⁴—beware of fowlish problemes or questiones in the scoles. Hoc procul dubio dictum in odium scolasticæ theologiæ et universitatum. Such a thyng is in the translation, thow it be not in the same wordes. *Ego et pater unum*²⁵ *sumus,*²⁶ We ar on, quasi diceret, unus²⁷ sumus, and not on substance or on thyng. Shew ye to the people that if any be of so prowde and stuburne stomac that he will beleve there is no fawt ne errour except it be declared to hym that he may se it, latt hym cum hither to my lorde²⁸ which hath profowndly examined al and he shal heir and se errours except that he be blynde and haue no eys.²⁹

24 Februarii.

Master Gold, I pray you be goode to this pore whoman, Gyl Barttes whyff, as yet your tenawnt.³⁰

¹ See p. 3 of prologue.

² Matt. x. 29.

³ See pp. 13, 14 of prologue.

⁴ Heb. xi. 26.

⁵ See p. 8 of prologue.

⁶ Gen. xxii. 16.

⁷ From the quotation Rom. iii. 23 immediately following, I take this title to be that of the New Testaments, both wanting in the only copies known.

⁸ See text at p. 17.

⁹ Matt. i. 19.

¹⁰ i. e. Repent instead of Do penance.

¹¹ The arrêt of the Parliament of Paris condemning Le Fevre d'Étaples' translation into French of

¹² Matt. iii. 2.

¹³ See p. 12 of prologue.

¹⁴ Ps. cxix. 112.

¹⁵ Luke xvi. 9.

¹⁶ 2 Cor. v. 10.

¹⁷ Matt. xxv. 34.

¹⁸ Matt. x. 29.

¹⁹ Matt. i. 1.

²⁰ Matt. iii. 2.

portions of the Scripture was passed on 28 Aug.

1525. *Lelong. Bibl. Sacre, i. 335.*

²² Mal. ii. 7.

²³ A Carthusian monk, Pierre Sutoris, who was

also a Doctor of Theology, wrote *De Tralatione*

Biblie, et novarum reprobatone interpretationum.

Licensed 5 Dec. 1524. The printing by Jehan Petit

finished 28 Feb. 1525. The 22nd and last chapter

deals with vernacular translations.

²⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 23. ²⁵ Neuter. ²⁶ John x. 30. ²⁷ Masc.

²⁸ A significant admission of the estimation that

Tyndale's Testaments were held in by the people.

²⁹ Tonstall would have tried imprisonment and

punishment to improve their eyesight.

³⁰ This line is written in a different hand.

Ye shal not neede to accuse this translation. It is accused and damned by the consent of the prelates and learned men, and commanded to be brynt, both heir and beyonde the see, wher is many hundreth of tham brynt, so that it is to layt now to ask reson why that be condemned, and which be the fawtes and errorrs.

Luther and his scoole teachith quod nos non cooperamus cum gratia dei, sed tantum patimur ut saxa et stipites, bycawse of that this texte, *non ego sed gratia dei mecum*,¹ thus is translate, not I bot the grace of God in me. Quam hoc hæretice, maligne, seditiose et falso translaturum sit, qui non perpendit, stupidus est. My lorde your master hath of thies bowkes geven and sende to hym by my lorde my master.

Shew the people that ye be cum to declare vnto tham, that certai[n] bowkes be condemned by the cownsell and profownde examination of the prelates and fathers of the chirch.

Addressed. To Master Henry Golde, Chaplayne to my lorde of Canterbury, at Knolle.

Cott. MSS., Cleo. E. v. : f. 362. b.

7. Meanwhile, the Archbishop of Canterbury had been actively but quietly at work, buying up, through his agents abroad, all the English New Testaments he possibly could obtain. This action on the part of Warham but further illustrates the great union and activity of the English Hierarchy in stamping out the condemned translation.

Having completed his purchases, and apparently believing that he had bought up the whole of the *three* Editions by this time in existence, the Archbishop issued, on the 26th May 1527, a circular letter to his suffragan Bishops soliciting contributions towards these expenses. We obtain our knowledge of what he had thus accomplished, from the following reply of Nix, the blind Bishop of Norwich.

In right humble maner I commende me vnto your goode Lordeshippe doyinge the same t'undrestande that I lately receyued your Lettres, dated at your Manor of Lambethe the xxvj daie of the monethe of Maij; by the whiche I do perceyue that youre Grace hath lately gotten into your handes all the boks of the Newe Testamente translated into Engleshe and prynted beyonde the Sea, aswele those² with the gloses ioyned vnto theym as th'oder³ withoute the gloses, by meanes of exchaunge by you made therfore, to the somme of lxxvj*li* ix*s* iiij*d*. [*£997.*]

Surely, in myn opynion, you haue done therin a graciouse and a blessed dede, and God, I doubt not, shall highly rewarde you therfore. And where in your said Letters, ye write that in so moche as this mater and the daunger therof of remedie had not be prouyded shulde not only haue towched you, but all the Busshoppes within your Province; and that it is no reason that the holle charge and coste therof shulde reste only in you; but that they and euery of theym for their parte shulde avaunce and contribute certain sommes of money towarde the same; I for my parte wulbe contented to avaunce in their behalue, and to make paymente therof vnto Maister William Potkyn your servaunte.

Pleaseth it you t'undrestande that I am right wele contented to yeve and avaunce in this behalue ten marks [at 13*s*. 4*d*. = *£6* 13*s*. 4*d*., equal to *£100* now], and shall cause the same to be delyuered vnto the said maister Potkyn shortly, the which somme I thinke sufficient for my parte, if euery Busshopp within your said Provyunce make like contribution and avauncement after the rate and substance of their benefices. Neuer the lesse if your Grace thinke this somme of ten marks not sufficient for my parte in this mater, your fudre pleasure knownen, I shalbe as gladde to conforme my self ther unto in this or any other mater concernynge the Church, as any your subgiet within your Provyunce. As knowes Almighty God, who

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 10.

² Those with the gloses . . . th'oder withoute the gloses would seem to show that Christopher

Endhoven reprinted the Quarto and not the Octavo. If so, would that afford a presumption that the Quarto was published before the Octavo?

longe preserue you to his most pleasure and your herts desire. At Hoxne in Suff. the xiiij. daie of Junii 1527. Yor humble obediencier and baidman R. NORWICEN.

I wold be as gladd to wayte vpon your Lordeshipp and do my duetie vnto you as any man lyvinge, but I thinke I can not so do this somer. I praye God I may have some tyme for to do it.

Sir H. Ellis' *Original Letters*, 3rd Ser. ii. 86-92. Ed. 1846. The Original is *Cott. MSS. Vitell. B. ix., fol. 117. orig.*

With this letter we must conclude our notice of the events of 1527, the second year of the New Testaments being in this country.

8. It was in 1528 that the persecution first began against the readers of the New Testament. On the 7th March of that year, Tostall, Bishop of London, licensed Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to have and read Lutheran books, in order that he might confute them; 'For as muche as you, dearly beloued brother, can playe the Demosthenes, both in this our Englyshe tongue and also in the Latin.'¹

More immediately set to work and published, before the end of the year, his *Dyaloge*; which was the first instalment of a long controversy in the course of which he successively attacked Tyndale, Barnes, Frith, and Sir John Some; which controversy lasted up to his imprisonment in 1535, that ended in his ever to be lamented death.

In More's *Dyaloge* we get at the way the English Bishops counted up the three thousand errors in Tyndale's translation. The book is an imaginary Dialogue between himself and the confidential messenger of a friend to whom (cumberously enough) he writes an account of *their* conversation, as if the messenger would not have reported it himself. It is a distortion of the Table Talk which constitutes the framework of *Utopia*, just as the whole of More's well meant efforts in the controversy are a distortion of the natural bent of his genius, leading him to a reckless vituperation of his opponents.

Bot now I pray you let me know your mynde concernyng the burnyng of the newe testament in englysh, whiche Tyndall lately translated/ and (as men say) ryght well/ which maketh men moche meruayll of ye burnyng.

¶ It is quod I to me great meruayll/ that any good crysten man hauyng any drep of wyt in his hede/ wold any thyng meruayll or complayne of the burnyng of that booke yf he knowe the matter. Whych who so callyth the newe testament calleth it by a wronge name/ except they wyll call it Tyndals testament or Luthers testament. For so had Tyndall after Luthers counsaile corrupted and chaunged it from the good and holsom doctryne of Cryste to the deuylysh heresydes of theyr owne that it was clene a contrary thyng.

¶ That were meruayle quod your frende that it sholde be so clene contrary. For to some that red it it semed very lyke.

¶ It is quod I neuer the lesse contrary/ and yet the more peryllous. For lyke as to a trew syluer grote as false copier grote is neuer the lesse contrary thoughe it be quicke syluered ouer/ but so muche the more false in howe moche it is counterfeted the more lyke to the trouth/ so was the translacyon so moche the

¹ The Bishop's letter is given by Fox in his *Actes, &c.*, pp. 491-2. Ed. 1563.

more contrary in how moche it was craftely deuysed lyke/ and so moche the more peryllous in howe moche it was to folke whermyd harde to be dyssernyd.

¶ Why quod your frende what fautys were there in it?

¶ To tell you all that quod I/ were in a maner to reherse you all the hole boke/ wherein there were founden and noted wronge or falsly translated aboute a thousande textys by tale.

¶ I wolde quod he fayne here some one.

¶ He that sholde quod I study for that/ sholde study where to fynde water in the see. But I wyll shewe you for ensample two or thre suche as euery one of the thre is more than thryes thre in one.

¶ That were quod he very straunge excepte ye mene more in weyght. For one can be but one in number.

¶ Surely quod I as weyghty be they as any lyghtly can be. But I mene that euery one of them is more than thryes thre in number.

¶ That were quod he some what lyke a rydell.

¶ This rydell quod I wyll sone be red. For he hath mysse translated three wordes of grete weyght and euery one of them is as I suppose more than thryse three tymes repeted and reherced in the boke.

¶ Ah that maye well be quod he/ but that was not well done. But I pray you what wordes be they?

¶ The one is quod I this worde prestys. The other the chyrche. The thyrd charyte. For prestys where so euer he speketh of the prestes of Crystes chyrche he neuer calleth them prestes but alway senyours/ the chyrche he calleth alway the congregacyon/ and charyte he calleth alway loue.—
Book III. c. 8. fol. 97. Ed. 1530.

More touched the apple of Tyndale's eye in thus charging his translation with intentional falsification. So the first half of his *Answer* is occupied with giving 'a reason of certayne wordes which Master More rebuketh,' as—

What the *church* is? Why he vsed this worde *congregacion* rather than *church*? Why *elder* and not *prest*? Why *loue* rather then *charyte*? Why *fauoure* and not *grace*? Why *knowledge* and not *confessyon*? *repentaunce* and not *penaunce*?

Tyndale herein defended the new ideas which he had associated to the old familiar words.

When therefore in the second part of his *Answer* he comes to the above passage all the reply he vouchsafes to it is this :—

Vnto church/ prest/ charite/ grace/ confession and penaunce is answered him in the begynnyng of the boke. And when he sayth Tyndale was confederatt with Luther that is not trueth. *Fol. xcij.*

9. In the months of February to June, 1528, Bishop Tonstall, assisted by his Vicar General, Geoffrey Wharton, D.D., made inquisition as regards Bible reading heretics until, as he writes to Wolsey, on the 15 March of that year respecting a suspected Reader, 'I committed hym to the Flete bycause al my presons be ful off other persons out off the fordest parte of my Diocese.' To give an account of all the depositions obtained in this inquisition would be to write the history of the English Reformation of this and some previous years. Somewhat we have gathered already in respect to the Distributors, and our space will only permit us to quote one other account of the early readers of our now familiar Testaments.

10. There is preserved in the first edition of Fox's *Actes, &c.*, an intensely graphic but unfinished memorandum, written from memory in 1562, expressly for the martyrologist, by Anthony Dalaber, an Oxford scholar.

¶ Concerninge the storie of Thomas Garret, and things done in Oxforde, by his time, reported to vs by Antony Dalaber, who was present at the same.

IN the yere of our Lord God a 1526.¹ or there aboute, maister Ball of Martyn Colledge, and master Cole of Magdalen Colledge beinge proctoures in the moneth of February,¹ [*i.e.* 1528] maister Garret² curate of Hoonye lane in London, came vnto Oxforde, and broughte with him sondrye bokes in Latten treatinge of the Scripture, with the fyrste part of *Vnio dissidentium*, and Tindals fyrste translation of the new Testament in English, the which bookes he solde to diuers scholers in Oxford, whose names for his accomptable memorye belike, he wrote in a small booke of accomptes.

After he had bene there a while, and had dispatched those bookes, newes came from London that he was searched for in all London to be apprehended and taken as an heretike, and to haue bene emprisonned, for sellinge of those heretical bookes (as they termed them) because they spake againste the vsurped autoritye, and mooste filthye doctrine, of that very Antichrist the bishoppe of Rome, and his no lesse fylthy and wicked sinagoge, for it was knowne vnto Cardinall Wolsey, and to the Bishoppe of London, and to other of that vngodly generation, that master Garret had a greate number of those heretical bookes, as the worlde then counted them, and that he was gone to Oxforde to make sale of them there to suche as he knew to be louers of the Gospell. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a preuye searche thorowe all Oxforde to take and imprison him if they mighte, and to burne all and euerye his foresaide bookes and him to, if they coulde: so burninge whotte was the charitye of those mooste holye fathers.

But yet at that time one of the foresaide proctors, master Cole of Maudelen Colledge, who after was Crosse bearer vnto the Archbishop of Yorke, was well acquainted with master Garret, and therefore he gaue seacrete warnynge on the Tuesday before Shrovetuesday [18 Feb.] vnto a frende or two of master Garretes of this preuy search and willed therefore that he shoulde forthwith as secreatlye as he possyble coulde, depart oute of Oxforde, for if he were taken in the same search, no remeedy but that he should be forthwith sent vp vnto the Cardinal, and so should be committed vnto the towre. The Christmas before that time [*i.e.* 1527] Antony Dalaber then scholer of Alborne Haul, who hadde bookes of master Garrets, hadde bene in his country in Dorsette shire at Stalbridge wher he had a brother person of that Parish, who was verye desirous to haue a Curate oute of Oxforde, and willed me the said Antonye in anye wise to get hym one ther if I could, then this iust occasion offred, it was thoughte good amonge the brethren (for so did we not only call one an other, but were in dede one to the other) that master Garret chaunginge his name shoulde be sente forth wyth my letters into Dorsette shire vnto my brother, to serue him there for a time vntill he mighte secreatly from thence conuaye him self som where ouer the sea. According here vnto I wrote my letters in all hast possible vnto my brother, for maister Garret to be his curate; but not declaringe what he was in deede. For my brother was a mayster of Arte and rancke Papist, and after was the most mortall ennemye that euer I hadde for the Gospelles sake.

So the Wensdaye in the morninge before shroftide [19 Feb.] master Garret departed out of Oxford towarde Dorset shire with my letters for hys new seruice, how farre he went, and by what occasion he so sone returned I know not, but the friday next [21 Feb.] in the nighte time he came againe vnto Radleis house where he lay before, and so after midnight in the priuy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors, and on the Saturday [22 Feb.] in the morninge

¹ This date has unfortunately been a fruitful source of error to many writers. The year is 1528, not 1526. The Testaments were hardly arrived in the country in Feb. 1526; but there had been in the two following years sufficient time to form the association, 'the little flock' of the 'brethren' at Oxford referred to in the narrative. Yet is there a certain truth in the statement, for Ball and Cole were the successive senior Proctors; S. Ball of Merton College being so elected on 11 Apr. 1526 and so remaining till 7 May 1527, when he was succeeded by A. Cole of Magdalen College, who held that office until 21 Apr. 1528; and was therefore the senior Proctor at the time of Garret's apprehension in Feb. 1528.

(²) John Cottysford, D.D., of Lincoln Coll., became

commissary [= vice-chancellor] by the designment of the Chancellor Archbp. Warham: and took his oath on 7 Dec. 1527. Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i. 76. Ed. 1815.

(³) In the first letter of the Garret correspondence occurs 'Thys monday the vigill of seinct Mathias'; which occurred in 1528. The year is also rendered indubitable by other points of internal evidence in the letters connected with Garret's apprehension, in the State Paper office.

⁴ 1517. Tho. Garret or Gerrard, was this year admitted; but the month or day when, appears not, because the register is imperfect; however in the year following he occurs by the title of Batch. of Arts. Wood, *idem.* p. 45.

deliuered vnto one D[oc]tor Cotissford, master of Lincoln colledge then beinge commissarye of the vniuersitye, who kepte him as prisoner in his own Chamber. There was great ioye and reioysinge, among all the Papistes for his apprehension and especially with D[oc]tor. London Warden of the New colledge, and D[oc]tor. Higdon deane of Frideswides¹ two Archpapistes. Who immediatly sent their letters in post hast vnto the Lord Cardinal to enforme him of the apprehension of this notable heretike: for the whiche their doinge, they were well assured to haue great thanks.

But of all this sodaine hurly burly, was I vtterly ignoraunt, so that I knew, neither of master Garets sodaine retourne, neyther that he was so taken. For after I had sent him oute of Oxford with my letters, as before is sayde, the same weke, having taken a chamber in Gloucester Colledge,² for that purpose to studye the ciuill law, because the scholers in Alborne Hall³ were all arceturs;⁴ I remoued all suche poore stuffe as I had from thence vnto Gloucester colledge, and there was I much busied in setting vp in order of my bed, of my bokes, and of such thinges as I els had, so that I had no leiser to go forthe any where those two daies, Fridaye and Saturday. And hauing set vp all my thinges handsomely in order the same daye [Sat. 22 Feb.] before none, I determined to spende that whole after none, vntill Euensonge time at Frisewide colledge,¹ at my boke in mine owne studye, and so shutte my chamber doore vnto me, and my study dore also, and toke in my hand to read Frances Lambert vpon the gospel of Saint Luke, which booke only I had then within there, all my other bookes wrytten on the scripture, of which I had a great number, as of Erasmus, of Luther, Oecolampadius etc. I had yet left in my chamber at Alborne Hall, where I had made a very secreat place to keep them safe in, because it was so dangerous to haue any such bokes.

And so as I was diligently readinge in the said boke of Lambert vpon Luke, sodenly one knocked at my chamber dore verye hard, which made me astonied, but yet I sate stil and would not speak, then he knocked againe more harder, and yet I held my peace, and straighte way he knocked yet againe more fierslye, and then I thought this, peraduenture it is some body that hath nede of me, and therefore I thought me bound to doo, as I would be done vnto and so laying my boke a side, I came to ye dore and opened it. And there was maister Garret as a mased manne, whome I thoughte then to haue bene with my brother, and one with him, asone as I saw him, he saide he was vndone, for he was taken not remembering that he spake this before the yonge manne. Then I asked him what that yonge man was, he aunswered that ~~it~~ was one, who broughte him vnto my chamber, then I thanked the yonge man, and bad him farewell, and asked mayster Garret whether the yonge man was his frend or no? and what acquaintance he had with him? He saide he knew him not, but he had bene to seke a monke of his acquaintance in that colledge who was not within his chamber, then he besought this his seruauant to bring him vnto my chamber, and so forthe declared howe he was returned and taken that nighte in the preuye searche as ye haue harde, and that now at Euensonge time the Commissarye and al his companye went to Euensonge, and locked hym alone in his chamber, when all were gone, and he hard no bodye stirring in the Colledge, he put backe the barre of the locke with hys fynger, and so came straight vnto Gloucester Colledge to that monke, if he hadde bene wythin, who had also bought bokes of him.

Then said I vnto him. Alas mayster Garret by this your vncircumspecte comminge vnto me, and speaking so before this yonge man, ye haue disclosed your selfe and vtterlye vndone me, I asked him whye he went not vnto my brother wyth my letters accordinglye, he saide after he was gone a daies iourney and a halfe, he was so fearefull that his heart would no other but that he muste neades retourne againe vnto Oxforde, and so came againe on Fridaye at nighte, and then was taken as ye hard before. But nowe with deepe sighes and plentye of teares he prayed me to healepe to conuaye hym away, and so he cast of his hode and his gown, wherein he came vnto me, and desired me to geue him a coate wyth sleues if I hadde anye, and tolde me that he would goe into Wales, and thence conuey him selfe into Germanye if he mighte, and then I put on him a sleued cote of mine of fine cloth in graine, which my mother hadde geuen me, he would haue an other manner of cappe of me, but I hadde none but priest like, such as his owne was. Then knealed we bothe downe together on oure knees, liftinge vp oure heartes and handes to GOD our heauenlye father, desiring him with plentye of teares, so to conducte and prosper hym in his iourney, that he mighte well escape the daunger of all his enemies, to the glorye of his holye name, if his good pleasure and will

¹ Now Christ Church College.

² Previously called St. John Baptist's Hall, afterwards Gloucester College: then Gloucester Hall,

and now Worcester College.

³ i. e. St. Alban's Hall.

⁴ *Arcetyr*, a learner or teacher of art.

so were, and then we embraced and kissed the one the other, the teares so abundantly flowinge out from bothe our eyes, that we all bewette both oure faces, and skarslye for sorrowe coulede we speake one to the other, and so he departed from me, apparelled in my cote, beinge committed vnto the tuition of oure almighty and all mercifull father.

When hee was gone downe the staires from my Chamber, I straight waies did shut my chamber dore, and went into my studye shuttinge the doore vnto me, and tooke the newe Testamente of Erasmus translation in my handes, kneled downe on my knees, and with manye a depe sigh and salt tere, I did, with much deliberation read ouer the x. chapter of s. Matthew his Gospell, and when I had so doone, with feruent prayer I did commit vnto God, that our dearlye beloued brother Gareth, earnestlye beseeching him, in and for Iesus Christes sake, his only begotten sonnte our Lord, yat he would vouchsafe, not only safely to conduct and kepe our saide deare brother from the handes of all his ennemies, but also that he woulde vouchendew his tender and lately borne litle flocke in Oxford, with heauenlye strength by his holy spirite that they might be well able thereby valeauntly to withstande to his glory all their fierse enemies, and also might quietly to theyr owne saluation with all godlye patience, beare Christes heauy crosse: which I now sawe was presently to be laide on their yong and weake backes, vnable to beare so huge a one, without the great heape of his holy spirite.

This doon I laid a side my bokes safe, folded vp maister Garrets gowne and hooode, and laid them into my presse among mine apparel, and so hauing put on my short gowne shut vp my study and chamber dores, and went towards Friswides to speake with that worthy martir of God one master Clarke, and others, and to declare vnto them what had happened that after noone.

But of purpose I went by S. Mary church to go first vnto Corpus Christi colledge to speke with Dietand Vdall¹ my faithfull brethren and felowes in the Lorde there, but by chaunce I met by the waye with a brother of oures, one Master Edon fellowe of Magdalen Colledge, who, assone as he saw me, came with a pityfull countenance vnto me, sayinge that we were all vndone for maister Gareth was returned again to Oxford, taken the last night in the priuy search, and was in prison with the commissary. I saide it was not so, he saide it was so, I said nay, and he said ye. I told him it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone, he answered me and saide, I knowe he was gone with your letters, but he came againe yester euen and was taken in his bed at Radleis this night in the priuy searche, for quod he, I hard our proctor master Cole say and declare the same this day in oure Colledge to diuers of the house. But I told him againe that I was wel assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later then either the proctor or commissary did, and then I declared the whole matter vnto hym, how and when he came vnto me, and howe he went his way, willing him to declare the same vnto other our brethren whom he should mete withall, and to geue God hartly thanckes for this his wonderful deliuerance, and to praye him also that he would graunt him safelye to passe awaye from all his ennemies. And tolde him that I was goinge vnto master Clarke of Friswides, to declare vnto him this matter, for I knew and thought verely that he and diuers others ther wer then in great sorow for this matter, and prayed maister Edon that he would goo home by Alborne Hal to desire my bedfelow sir Fitzjames² (for I lay with him in Alborne hall) to mete me at sir Diets chamber in Corpus Christi Colledge about v. of the clocke after Euensong, and then I went straight to Friswides.

And Euensong was begon, and the Deane, and the other canons were there in their Gray Amices, they were almost at Magnificat before I came thether. I stode at the quier dore and hard master Tauerner play and others of the chappel there sing, with and among whome I my selfe was wont to singe also, but now my singing and musicke was turned into sighing and musing. As I thus and ther stode, in commeth Doctor Cotisford the commissary, as fast as euer he could go bare headed, as pale as ashes, I knew his grefe wel inough, and to the Deane he goeth into the Quier, where he was sitting in his stalle, and talked with him very sorrowfully, what I know not, but wherof I might and did wel and truly gesse, I went aside from the quier dore, to se and heare more, the Commissarye and Deane came oute of the Quire, wonderfullye troubled as it semed, about the middle of the church, met them D[octo]r. London, puffing, blusteringe, and blowinge lyke a hungry and gredy Lion seking his pray. They talked together a while, but the commissarye was much blamed of them for kepinge of hys prisoner so negligently, in so much yat he wepte for sorowe. And it was knowen abrode, that master Garret had eskaped awaye

¹ N. Udall afterwards the author of *Roister Doister* took his B.A. on 30 May 1524.

² John Fitzjames of Merton College, afterwards

of St. Alban's Hall, took his B.A. 20 June 1524. He became (Roman Catholic) Archdeacon of Taunton and Prebend of Wells on 22 May 1554

and gone out of the Commissaries chamber at Euensong time, whether no man could tel. These Doctors departed and sent abroad their seruants and spies euery where.

Mayster Clarke about the middle of Complin¹ came forth of the quire, I followed him to his chamber, and when he was put of his Graye Amis and surples, he asked me how I did, and what newes, I answered him not so wel as I would, because the newes were not good, but verye doubtfull and perilous, and so declared what was happned that after none. Of maister Garrets eska², he was glad, for he knew of his fore-taking, then he sent for one master Sumner, and master Bets, fellowes and canons there, in the meane whyle he gaue me a very godly exhortation, praying God to geue me, and all the reaste of oure brethren, *prudentiam serpentinam, et simplicitatem columbinam*, for we shoulde haue shortlye muche neade there of, as he verelye thoughte. When master Sumner and master Bets were come vnto him, he caused me to declare againe the whole matter vnto them two wherof they were very gladde, that maister Garret was so deliuered trusting that he shuld escape all his enemies. They wuld haue had me to tary and haue supped ther with them; but I would not tary, for I sayd I had promised to go vnto Corpus Christi college to comfort our other bretherne their, who were no lesse sorowfull then they, and praied them to tel vnto our other bretherne there what was happened: for there wer diuers elsse in that colledge.

When I came to Corpus Christi colledge I founde to gether in Sir Diets chamber, tarienge and lokinge for me Fitziames, Diet, and Vdall, they knew al the matter before by maister Edon, whome I had sent vnto Fitziames, but yet I declared the matter vnto them againe and so I taried ther and supped with them in that chamber where they had prouided meat and drinke for vs before my comminge, at whiche supper we wer not very mery, consideringe our state and peril at hand. When we had end our supper and committed our whole cause with feruent sighs and harty prayers vnto God our heuenly father, Fitziames would nedes haue me to lye that night with him in my old lodgings at Alborne Hall, and so did I: But small reste and litle slepe toke we both their that night.

In the sunday [23 Feb.] in the morninge I was vp and readye by fieu of the clocke, and as sone as I could get out at Alborne Haull dore, I went straight towards Glocester colledge to my chamber, it hadd reyned that morny[n]ge, a good shure and with mi goinge I had all to be sprinkled my hose and my shoes with the reiny mire. And when I was comein vnto Glocester coledge, which was about vi. of the clocke, I found the gats fast shut, wherat I did much merueil, for they were wont to be opened daily, long befor that time, then did I walk vp and down by the wall ther, a whole howre before the gats were opened. In the meane while my musinge hed beinge full of forecastinge cares, and my sorowfull hart flowinge with dollefull sighes, I fully determined in my conscience before god, yat, if I shuld chaunce to be taken and be examined I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceiue was manifestly knownen before.

And so when the gate was opened, thinking to shift my selfe and to put on a longer gounne, I wente in towarde my chamber, and ascendinge vp the steyers, would haue opened my dore, but I could not in a longe season do it, wherby I perceyued yat my lock had bin medled with all and therwith was somewhat altered. Yet at last with much a do I opened the locke and went in, when I came in, I did see my bedde al to tosed and tumbled, my clothes in my presse thrown down and my study dore open wherof I was much amased and thought verelye there was made their some serch that night for maister Garet, and that it was knownen of hys beinge wythe me, by the monkes man that brought him to my chamber.

Nowe was ther lieng in the next chamber vnto me, a yonge priest monk of shirborne abbey in the county of Dorset come thether to be student, where I was brought vppe from my childehode: for whose sake partly I came in dede vnto that Colledge, to enstrutte him in the Laten tongue, and in other thinges wherin I had better knowledge then he. Thys monke assone as he harde me in the chamber, called vnto me, and asked me where I lay that night. I told him that I lay with my olde bed fellow Fitziames at Alborn hall, he came to me straight way, and told how our master Garet was sought in my chamber, and asked me whether he was with me yesterday at after noone or no, and I told him yea. And finally he tolde me that he was commaunded to bring me assone as I came in vnto the prior of studentes named Antony Dunston a monke of Westminster, who nowe is bishop of Landafe. And so while he made him ready by me, he tolde me what a doo. there was made by the commissarie and the two proctors in my chamber that night, with billes and swords thrustud thorow my bedstraw, and how euery corner of

¹ i. e. the last or evening prayer.

my chamber was searched for master Garret, and albeit his gown and hooide lying in my presse was by theym all to tossed and tumbled with my clothes, yet did they not perceiue them there, for by like they toke it to haue bene mine own clothes.

This so troubled me that I forgot to make cleane my hose and shoes, and to shyfte me nto an other gowne : And therefore assone as he was readye, so all to be dirted as I was with the rainy weather, and in my short gown, I went with him to the saide Priors chamber, where I founde the said prior standing and lokinge for my comminge. He asked me where I had bene that nighte, I tolde him I laye at Albarn hal with my old bedfellow Fitzjames, but he would not beleue me, he asked me if master Gareth were with me yesterdaye ? I tolde hym yea : then he would knowe where he was, and wherfore he came vnto me. I told him I knew not where he was excepte he were at Woodstocke. For so (said I) he had shewed me that he woulde goo thether, because one of the kepers there his frend, hadde promised him a piece of venison to make mearye wyth all that Shrofe tide, and that he woulde haue borrowed a hatte and a paire of high shoes of me, but I had none in dede to lend hym. This tale I thought metest though it were nothing so. Then hadde he spied on my fore finger a bigge ringe of siluer verye well double gilted with two letters *A. D.* ingraued in it for my name, I suppose he thought it to be gold, he required to see it, I toke it vnto him, when he had it in his hand, he sayde it was his ring, for therin was his name, an *A.* for Antonye, and a *D.* for Dunston. When I harde him so say, I wished in my hart to be as well deliuered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be deliuered from my ring for euer.¹ Then he called for pen, inke, and paper and commaunded me to write when and how Gareth cam vnto me, and where he was become.

I had not written scarcely three wordes, but the chiefe bedell with two or three of the commissaries men, were come vnto master prior, requiringe him straightwaies to bringe vs awaye vnto Lincolne coledge to the commissary and to *D[ector]*. London. Whether when I was brought in to the chapel : there, I founde maister *D[ector]*. Cottisforde commissary, maister *D[ector]*. Higdon then Deane of the Cardenalls colledge, and *D[ector]*. London Warden of ye newe Colledge standinge together at the altar in the chappell, when they sawe me brought vnto them, after salutations geuen and taken between them, they called for chaires and satte downe and called for me to come to them, and first they asked what my name was, I tolde them that my name was Anthonye Dalaber, then they also asked me how longe I had ben student in the vniuersity, and I tolde them almoste three yeares, and they asked me what I studied. I tolde them that I had red sophestry and logike in Alborne Hal and now was remoued vnto Glocester coledg to study the ciuill lawe, the whiche, the forsaide prior of studentes affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew master Garret and how longe I had knowen him I tolde them I knew him well, and had knowen him almoste a twelue monethes, they asked me when he was with me I tolde them yester day at after none, and now by this time whiles they hadde me in this talke, one came in vnto them which was sent for, with pen, inke, and paper, I trowe it was the clarke of the vniuersity. As sone as he was come, there was a bourd and trestelles with a forme for him to sit on, set betwene the doctores and me, and a greate masse book laid before me and I was commaunded to lay my right hand on it and to swere that I shoulde truly aunswer vnto such articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined vpon. I made daunger of it a while at the first, but afterwarde being perswaded by them partly by fayre words and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they wulde haue me, but in my hart nothyng so ment to do. So I laide my hand on the booke, and one of them gaue me my oth, and that donne commaunded me to kis the booke. Then made they great curtesye betwene them who should examine, and minister interrogatories vnto me, at the last the rankest papisticall pharesey of them al *D[ector]*. London² toke vpon him to do it.

Then he asked me agayne, by my oth where Maister Garret was and whether I had conueihd him ; I tolde hym I hadde not conueyed hym, nor yet wiste not where hee was, nor whether he was gon, except he were gon to woodstocke, as I had before saide, yat he shewed me he would.

Then he asked me again when he came to me, and howe he came to me and what and howe longe he talked with me, I tolde him he came to me aboute euensong time and that one brought him vnto my chamber dore, whom I know not and that he tolde me he woulde go to wodstocke for some veneson to make mery with all this shroftide, and that he wolde haue borrowed a hat, and a paire of high shoes, of me but I had none such to lend him, and then he straight went his way from me but whether I know nat.

¹ It must have been pleasant to Anthony Kitchin or Dunston, who became Bp. of Llandaff on 26 Mar. 1545 [*d.* 31 Oct. 1565] to have thus read him-

self in Fox's book, a thief of old standing.

² Dr. London *d.* 1543 in the Fleet; having been committed to that place for perjury.

All these my sayenges the scribe wrote in a paper boke. Then they earnestly required me to tell them whether I had conueyed him, for surely they saied I brought him going some whether this mornynge, for that they might well perceaiue by my foule shoes and dirty hosen that I had traualld with him the most part of this night, I answered plainly that I laye at Alborne Haul with sir Fitzjames, and that I had good witnes therof there. They asked me where I was at euensonge I told them at Friswides, and that I saw first maister commissary, and then maister D[octo]r. London come thether at that time vnto maister Deane of Frisewides and that I saw them talking to gether in the church. There D[octo]r. London and the deane thretned me that if I would not tell the truth where I had don him, or whether he was gonne, I should surely be sente vnto the tower of London and there be racked, and put into litle ease.¹ But maister commissary prayd me with gentle words to tell him where he was that he might haue him againe and he woulde be my very greate frend and deliuer me out of trouble straighte waye, I tolde him I coulde not tell where hee was nor whether he was be come. Thus did they occupy and tosse me almost two hours in the chappell sometimes with thretninges and foulewordes and then with faire wordes and faire promises flattering me. Then was hee that brought maister Garet vnto my chamber brought before me and caused to declar what maister Garet saide vnto me at his comminge to my chamber but I saide plainly I harde him say no such thinge for I thought my naye to be as good as his yea, seing it was to ridd and deliuer my godly brother out of trouble and pearill of his life. At the laste when they could get nothing of me wherby to hurt or accuse anye man or to know any thinge of that which they sought they al 3. together brought me vp a longe staires into a great chamber ouer M[aster]. Commissarys D[octo]r. Cot[tiss]ford's chamber wherin stood and were a greate payer of very highe stockes, then Maister commissary asked me for my purse and girdel toke away my mony and my knife, and then they put both my legges into them and so locked me fast in those stockes, in which I satte my feete beinge almost as high as my hed, and so departed they: locking fast the chamber dore I thinke vnto their abominable mas, leuing me alone.

When al they were gone then cam vnto my good remembrance the worthye sore warning and godly declaration of that moste constant martir of god, Maister Iohn clarke, my father in Christ, who wel nie two yeres before yat, when I did earnestly desire him to graunt me to be his scolar, and that I might goe with hym continually when and where soeuer hee should teach or preach (the which he did daily) who (I say) said vnto me much after this sort. Dalaber ye desire ye wot not what, and that ye are I feare me, vnable to take vpon you, for though nowe my preachinge be swete and pleasante vnto you, because there is yet no persecution layed on you for it, but the time will come, and that peraduenture shortly, if ye continew to liue godly therin that god will laye on you the crosse of persecution to try you with all whether you canne as pure and purified gold abide the fire, or as stoble and drosse be consumed therwith. For the holy ghost plainly affirmeth by sainte paule, *quod omnes qui pia volunt viuere in Christo Iesu, persecutionem patientur*. Yea ye shal be called and iudged an heretike, ye shal be abhorred of the world, your owne friendes and kinsfolke will foresake you and also hate you, and shalbe cast into prison and no man shall dare to helpe or comfort you, ye shalbe accused and brought before the bishoppes to your reproche and shame, to the greate sorow of all your faithfull frendes and kinsfolke. Then wil ye wishe ye hadde neuer known this doctrine. Then wil ye curse Clark and wish that ye hadd neuer known him, bycause he hath brought you to al these troubles. Therefore rather then ye shoulde do this, leue of from medlinge of this doctrine, and desire not to bee and continewe in my company. At which wordes I was so greued that I fell downe on my knees at his feete, and with abundance of teares and sighes euen from the bottoome of my harte, I earnestly besought him, that, for the tender mercy of god shewed vnto vs in our Lord Iesu Christ, he would not refuse me, but receiue me into his company as I had desired, saing that I trusted verely, that he which had begonne this in me would not forsake me but giue me grace to continew therein vnto the end. When he harde me say so, he came to me and toke me vp in his arms, kissed me, the teres tricklinge downe from his eies and sayde vnto me: The Lorde almighty graunt you so doo, and from hensforthe for euer take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.

Now wer there at that time in oxford diuerse graduates and scholers of sundry Colledges and haules, whom god had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all resorted vnto maister Clarkes disputations and lectures in diuinity, at all times as they mought: And when they might not come conueniently, I was by maister clark apointed to resorte vnto euery of them wekely, and to know what doubts they had

¹ A torture den in the Tower.

in any place of the scriptures, that by me from him they mighte haue the true vnderstanding of ye same which exercise did me most good and profit to the vnderstanding of the holy scriptures which I most desired.

This forsaide forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martir of god maister clark, coming then to my remembrance caused me with deepe sighes to crye vnto god from my hart to assist me with his holy spirite that I mought be able paciently and quietly to bere and suffer whatsoever it shoulde please him of his fatherly loue to laye on me to his glory and the comforte of my dearly beloued brothern, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, least I would be an accuser of them all. For vnto me they all were well knowen, and all there doinges in that matter. But god be blessed I was full bent neuer to accuse any of them, what soeuer shoulde happen of me.

Before dinner maister Cotisforde came vp to me and requested me earnestlye to tell him where maister Garet was, and if I woulde so do he promised me straightwayes to deliuer me out of prison. But I tolde him I could not tel where he was nor more in dede I could not. Then hee departed to dinner askinge me if I woulde eate any meate, and I told him yea right gladly, he saide he would send me some. When he was gone his seruantes asked me diuerse questions which I doo not now remember, and some of them spake me faire and some thretned me calling me heretik and so departed lockinge the dore fast vpon me.

FOX THEN ADDS: *Thus far Antony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who before the finishinge departed this yere Anno. 1562, in the dioces of Salisbury the residue therof as we could gather it of ancient and credible persons, so haue we added here vnto the same.*

After this, Garret beinge apprehended or taken, by mayster Cole ye proctor or his men, going westwarde at a place called Hinksey a litle beyonde Oxforde,¹ and so beinge broughte backe againe, was committed to ward, that done, he was conuented before the commissary, Doctor London and Doctor higdon deane of Friswides (now called Christs colledge) into S. Maries church where they sitting in iudgement, conuicted him according to their law as an heretike (as they said) and afterward compelled him to cary a faggot in open procession from Sainte Maries church to Friswides, and Dalaber likewise with him. Garret hauinge his redde hode on his shulders like a maister of art, after that, they were sent to Osney, ther to be kept in prison till farther order was taken.

Ther were suspected beside, a great number to be infected with heresy as they called it, for hauinge such bookes of Godes truth as garret sold vnto them. As maister Clarke which died in his chamber and could not be suffered to receiue the Communion, beinge in prysonne and saienge these words: *Crede et manducasti*. Maister Sommer, Maister Bettes, Tauerner, Radley, with other of Friswides colledge, of Corpus Christi colledge and Vdal and Dier with other of Maudlen colledge, one Eden [*The 1570 edition of Fox reads Master Somner, Maister Bettes, Tauerner the Musicion, Rodley, with other of Friswides colledge, of Corpus Christi Colledge, as Vdal and Diet with other, of Magdalen Colledge one Eeden, p. 1369*] wyth other of Glocester colledge, and two blacke monkes one of S. Austines of Canterbury named Langporte, ye other of Saint Edmondsbury monk, now yet liuing and dean of Norwich named Iohn Salesbury, two whit[e] monkes of Barnard colledge, two chanons of Saint Maries colleadge, one of them named Robert Ferrar afterwarde Bishop of Saint dauies [David's] and burned in Quene Maries time. These ii. canones because they had no place in the vnyuersitye with the other; they went on the contrarye side of the procession bare headed and a bedell before them to be knowne from the other. Diuers other there were whose names I cannot remember which were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges and sought their frendes. Against the procession time ther was a greater fire made vpon the topp of Carfaxe where into all such as were in the saide procession eyther conuict or suspected of heresy were commaunded in token of repentance and renunciation of their errores, euery man to cast a boke into the fier as they passed by. pp. 604-610.

¹ This is quite incorrect. Garret got as far as Bedminster, a mile beyond Bristol, where he was arrested on 29 Feb. 1528. The papers relative to him, including his recantation, now in the State Paper Office, are printed in Townsend's Edition of

Fox's *Actes*, Vol. V. *App. Ed.* 1846. Thomas Garret, with Doctor Robert Barnes and William Hierome the Vicar of Stepney, were together martyred by fire at Smithfield on 30 July, 1540.

The unexpected length to which this Preface has already extended forbids a further pursuit of this part of the subject. The Advent of the first printed Testaments in England constitutes an important chapter in the Story of our Reformation, and one that has hardly as yet received adequate attention. The fashioning anew of a people, as it is a universal and a gigantic, so must it be a gradual Change, prepared and brought about by many causes and instrumentalities. Of these none has been so powerful for good as an unfettered appeal to Scripture; and it was a most merciful arrangement of Divine Providence that when there was a people ready to receive it, Tyndale was raised up to supply the printed Word. In so doing, he sought to transfer the ultimate standard of appeal in faith and morals from the vacillation and contradictions of human belief and opinion known as 'The Church' to the Revelation of the Mind and Will of the Trinity, so far as that could be ascertained by means of manuscripts written by inspired men of old, and transmitted from age to age down to his own time. Until the peasant could possess and understand; until he could confidently appeal to an authority in faith and morals which the greatest scholar could not disavow, he was liable to be beguiled by self interested jugglery and sophistry of those who pretended 'to keep the lips of knowledge.' Nothing is more painful, nothing so unlike God who said 'Let there be light,' than the combination of the priestly learning of that time to keep the people in gross ignorance, merely for the sake of plunder they obtained through them, and the power that through that ignorance they were enabled to exercise over them. What a Struggle for Light it was, we have already seen: and in that fight, many in the front rank on each side suffered most unjust death for their opinion and belief; so it was left to the few Protestant survivors and to the second race of Reformers to carry on and complete the work.

In such troublous times as these, with the magnificent self devotion that we have seen, despite every obstacle, and through constant peril, was the modern English Testament translated, first printed, and circulated. Now whoso will, may study it without any let or hindrance. May all who scan this Fragment have the same absorbing interest and delight in our modern version as Tyndale had, when, exiled in a foreign city, under a sense of the most weighty responsibility both to God and man, he secretly corrected the pages of which we now present the Sun-Portraits.

VII. *Typographical and Literary Evidence.*

The foregoing Story is quite irrespective of the claims of the Text here photo-lithographed to be a part of the Quarto. Before considering this, we may give the account of its late discovery, in 1836.

Mr. Thomas Rodd, of Great Newport Street, a respectable bookseller in London, having exchanged with a friend, who did not recollect how he came by it, a quarto tract by Ecolampadius, without any covering, there was attached to it by binding a portion in the English language, black letter; and though it was evidently the gospel of Matthew, with the *prologue* of fourteen pages preceding, neither Mr. Rodd nor his friend understood, at the time, what it actually was. By degrees, however, this was at last fully ascertained. 'The accidental discovery,' says Mr. R., 'of the remarkable initial Y, with which the first page of the prologue is decorated, in another book, printed at Cologne in 1534,¹ first led me to search other books printed at the same place, and I succeeded in finding every cut and letter, with the exception of one, in other books from the same printing office, that of Peter Quentel.' Again: 'I have found the type in which this portion is printed, and the cuts with which it is decorated, used in other books printed at Cologne from the year 1521 to 1540.'²—C. ANDERSON: '*Annals of the English Bible*,' i. 62-3: *Ed.* 1845.

The Typographical proof may be conveniently expressed in three propositions.

1. This Fragment, whatever it may be, was printed by Peter Quentel at Cologne before 1526.

This is demonstrated by

1. THE WOODCUT at p. 16 of the present lithographed text.

1. This is the work of ANTON VON WORMS (Anthony of Worms), an excellent engraver in wood, who came to Cologne in or before 1525, (as appears by the date of one of his woodcuts printed there, being inscribed with that year,) and who appears to have lived in that city until his death, about 1538. Some of his works are regular engravings (in particular a large view of the city of Cologne); others are title pages, and others woodcuts. Of these Adam Bartsch in *Le Peintre Graveur*, vii. 488, *Ed.* Vienne, 1808, quotes 11; but John Jacob Merlo, in *Kunst und Künstler in Köln*, quotes 64; of which 40 of the best are enumerated in G. K. Nagler's *Künstler-Lexicon*, xxii. 91-96, *Ed.* Munich, 1852.

The woodcut is one of four representing the four evangelists, (three of them with their apocalyptic figures, viz.: Mark with a lion, Luke with a bull, John with an eagle,) sitting and writing, which four occur in two large works which Peter Quentel was finishing about the same time, viz.:

(a) A German Testament (Emser's revision of Luther's version, with a commentary), which is dated 23 August 1529.

(b) A Latin Bible, *Biblia integra*, etc. *Ed.* by Peter Ubelius, dated September 1529.

They are also said to occur in an earlier edition of Ubelius' Latin Bible, printed by Quentel in 1527; but I have been unable to meet with a copy of this impression.

2. Anterior to these three editions, the woodcut of Matthew alone appears on the title page, and also at fol. 2 of Rupertus' *In Matthæum*, etc., printed by Quentel in 1526, already referred to at p. 22. On account of its immense importance in establishing the date and the printer of this Fragment, we have added on the blank page at the end of this edition a facsimile of the lower part, including the woodcut, of this title page of the Commentaries of Rupertus *In Matthæum*, etc., and *De Glorificatione Trinitatis*, etc.; which, as Cochleus tells us, was printed by Quentel for Byrckman.

Therefore the woodcut belonged to and was used in 1526 by Quentel.

3. Of the next point we are able to supply ocular demonstration. The woodcut as photo-lithographed on

¹ See next page.

² It is to be regretted that Mr. Anderson did not

obtain from Mr. Rodd all his references.

the last page of this volume, used by Quentel in Rupertus' *In Matthæum, etc.*, is cut down on the outer side and at the bottom; so that at the side the pillar and a part of the angel's wings are cut off; and at the bottom the feet of the two pillars and a part of the foreground are cut away. Compare it with the previous one.

Therefore the woodcut at *p.* 16 is *anterior* to that at the end of the book. Therefore the Fragment was printed before the title page of *In Matthæum, etc.*, *i.e.* before 1526.

4. The motive for cutting down the woodcut appears to have been to allow a sufficient amount of type between it and the inner margin of *fol.* 2 of *In Matthæum, etc.*, where the *reduced* cut is used as an initial letter. Whether this be so or not, it is clear that woodcuts of the other three evangelists had not yet (*i.e.* earlier than 1526) been designed. For they are the same width across as the *reduced* cut of Matthew; and have the apocalyptic figures, which Matthew has not. It seems therefore highly probable that Anthon von Worms *designed* this woodcut expressly for Tyndale's Testament; and that that work being suddenly stopped, Quentel made the best use of the block he could, reducing its size as convenient; and that after a time having occasion for them in other works he got Anthon to complete the series of four to the size thus reduced.

2. THE INITIAL at *p.* 1.

1. There were printed by various printers at Cologne, between 1534-40, and under the editorship of A. le Loer, twenty folio volumes, mostly unconnected, of what was intended as a collected edition of the Works of the Carthusian Dionysius de Leuwe de Ryckel known as the 'Ecstatic Doctor.' One of these volumes containing Commentaries on *All the Canonical Epistles, the Acts, and the Apocalypse* (British Museum Pressmark 1008 e. 8) was printed by Quentel, and is dated September 1533.

On the reverse of *fol.* 72, at the beginning of the Second Epistle of John, is found the initial letter which appears on *p.* 1 of this Fragment. That initial therefore belonged to and was used by Quentel.

3. Here, for want of time, I must refer to Mr. Rodd's statement as regards the other initials, observing that I have met with the two—W as on *p.* 19, etc., and A as on *p.* 32 of the Text, etc.—in Emser's German Testament, above referred to. A further search would no doubt identify them all.

4. A similarity in the style of setting up the type has already been noticed at *p.* 22.

Indubitably therefore Quentel printed this Fragment before 1526; and from its contents, we know that he must have printed it for Tyndale.

2. Though—judging from what we here possess, viz. sigs. A to H—the portion A to K printed by Quentel at Cologne would hardly have finished the Gospel of Matthew: yet this fragment is NOT a portion of the Gospel of Matthew printed somewhere abroad for Tyndale in 1524 or 1525.

1. The first words of *The prologge* contradict such an assumption. 'I HAVE HERE translated . . . the newe Testamente.'

Again on *p.* 2. 'After hit had pleasyd God to put in my mynde / and also to geue me grace to translate this foreheard newe testament into our englysshe tonge / howsoever we have done it.' From this it is clear that the translation of the entire New Testament had been finished before the beginning of *The prologge* was written.

2. The list of the Books of the New Testament would have been purposeless, had only the gospel of Matthew been intended to follow it.

3. The passage referred to by Roy at (see *p.* 32) *p.* 12 of Text proves *The prologge* to have belonged to the New Testament.

4. In like manner the passages alluded to by Ridley (see *p.* 53) at *pp.* 10, 12, and 14 confirm the same.

3. This Fragment being printed by Quentel before 1526, and not being a part of the Gospel of Matthew printed earlier than that year, must be a portion of the Quarto with glosses referred to by Cochlæus.

This has already been proved. We may however notice that *The prologge*, never reprinted by Tyndale, forms the substance of *The Pathway to Scripture*, included among Tyndale's Workes, 1573, by John Fox.

IS THE QUARTO A TRANSLATION OF LUTHER'S EARLIER VERSION?

An important question yet remains. Is this a translation from the original Greek, or from the German of Luther? All translators of the Scriptures have availed themselves of existing versions in other languages, as helps. In this way we think Tyndale used Luther's version; but we must remit this subtle question for resolution to abler hands. Certainly Tyndale was competent to translate it from the Greek, as his translation of Isocrates' Oration proves, and as the title pages of his subsequent editions of the New Testament claimed for him. He was evidently familiar with Latin. He probably had mastered German by the time he came to Cologne; and without doubt studied Hebrew at Worms and Marburg before 1530, when he published the English Pentateuch. Busche's talk is probably but an exaggeration of Tyndale's linguistic attainments. Evidently therefore he was capable of an independent translation. His frequent reference to 'the tonge' can only be to Greek, and he says, 'Consyder howe that I had no man to counterfet' see p. 25.

Whatever may be the case as to the Translation, we can judge of the extent to which Tyndale incorporated the writings of Luther in *The prologge*, the marginal references, and the glosses. J. Baynes, Esq., of the British Museum, has kindly compared the two versions with the following results.

1. Luther prefixed to his translation (1st Ed. Sept. : 2nd Ed. Dec. 1522) a short *Vorrede* or Preface from which Tyndale took nearly five paragraphs—beginning from *das allte testament ist eyne buch darynnen Gottis gesetzs*, etc. down to . . . *mehr sterben*—being more than half the *Vorrede*; and has introduced it into the *prologge* beginning on p. 3 with *The olde testament is a boke* | etc. down to *shall never more dye*, at the top of p. 4. With this exception, the *prologge* seems to have been entirely written by Tyndale, who also furnished the four glosses found attached to his quotation from Luther.

2. The inner MARGINAL REFERENCES are selected, with a few additions, from Luther's version.

3. Some of the GLOSSES are entirely Luther's, some (and these chiefly explanations of words) wholly Tyndale's, and some are identical in meaning but differently expressed from Luther's, as if each were a distinct translation of some earlier original. Of the 92 glosses in the Fragment, the following 41 appear to have been ENTIRELY supplied by Tyndale.

p. 18. That ys to saye, by the
 Iesus is asmoche to saye
 Christe bryngeth god. where
 p. 19. Iury is the londe
 p. 20. Rachell was buried not ferre
 p. 21. Put youre truste in goddes
 p. 23. All these dedes here rehearsed
 p. 24. Iott. Is as moche toq saie
 Breaketh This do they which

p. 26. Rewarde. Ye shall not
 p. 27. Syngle. The eye is single
 p. 28. Fornace. Men heete there
 p. 30. Wilt. Faithe knoweth not
 p. 31. Centurion. Is a captayne
 p. 34. The hervest are the people
 p. 35. Beyonde the see commonly
 Fynsshe That ys/ ye shall nott.
 That is to sey openly

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p> <i>¶. 37.</i> In the name of a prophet
 water. Compare dede too dede
 <i>¶. 38.</i> Lesse. That is Christe
 Violence when the consciences
 To vpbrayde is to cast
 <i>¶. 40.</i> Desolate, That ys wasted
 <i>¶. 41.</i> A viper ys after the
 Here may ye se
 <i>¶. 42.</i> He that hath. where
 <i>¶. 43.</i> The seed ys sown
 Tares and cockle are
 <i>¶. 47.</i> Profytt. Mark the leuen
 <i>¶. 48.</i> Tradicions of men must fayle </p> | <p> <i>¶. 50.</i> Peter in the greke
 [This long note is an expansion of a short one by
 Luther.]
 <i>¶. 51.</i> Itt soundeth yn greke
 Dedes. For the dedes
 <i>¶. 52.</i> Stronge feyth requyren
 <i>¶. 54.</i> Here all bynde and loose
 <i>¶. 57.</i> Seven a clocke with vs
 <i>¶. 58.</i> By this similitude may ye
 <i>¶. 59.</i> Redeme / is to deliver
 Sonne of david. As many
 <i>¶. 61.</i> Ihon taught the very waye </p> |
|--|--|

The remaining glosses are either literal or paraphrastic translations of Luther, or of some earlier original. If then the Quarto were annotated in this manner, about one half of the glosses were contributed by Tyndale. Thus far at least there is nothing to detract from the genuineness of his work, as a whole.

Any one who will compare our Authorized Version with this first attempt, cannot fail to be surprised to find what a large proportion of this Text has survived intact the ceaseless tests of innumerable translators; which is another corroboration that Tyndale both went direct to the Greek and that he did his work excellently.

We must now draw to a close. What was intended as a short Preface has become a small Book: and yet the subject is hardly more than begun. Every point upon which we have touched is capable of a more exact definition, a more ample illustration. It is indeed wonderful that we know so much as we do, considering the circumstances; but it is certain that there is much more that by a patient search may be recovered. We have endeavoured here to adduce nothing for which there is not adequate, and, as far as possible, contemporary authority, and we leave off the inquiry feeling that we have only just commenced it. Yet enough has been adduced to show what a great Story surrounds the first beginnings of our printed Testament. Will some one become the Historian of the English Bible? Wherever he may lead us in that history we shall find that the Introducers of the Bible into our nation, as well as the ceaseless Correctors of it since, have for the most part been interpenetrated with an unfaltering love of Truth and Holiness.

Hitherto that History has suffered much at the hands of its Narrators. Fox's Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia is very scanty in its information respecting the early English Reformation down to 1530. The first Edition of the *Actes, &c.*, 1563, contains some valuable original Memoranda, etc., contributed to it by Eye-Witnesses: but in the second and later editions Fox, writing impersonally and violently, deprived all these contributions

of much of their freshness, beauty and graphic portraiture ; and therefore of their power to reproduce to us the life and action of those times. He is therefore to be read with great caution.

Of later writers, Mr. Anderson, who commenced in his *Annals* our popular literature on this subject, is often as faulty as Fox. Indeed there has been an unfortunate fatality among some of these later writers. Lewis voted Cochläus' statement—which is a cardinal point in the History—to be entirely a fabrication ; and Anderson errs as often as he is right. One excuse for this is the difficulty of the search. The priestly hunt after the Testaments to which we have referred was altogether unnoticed in the general movement of the time. The question of the day was the King's Divorce : and the fate of the captured Testament readers, secretly tried, though openly punished, did not—in that age of violent deaths—attract universal attention. So the full history of that of which we have here given a sketch is to be found in the Bishops' Registers and other such recondite sources.

Of the fruits of the English Scriptures who may sufficiently speak? One great tangible result has been the ennobling and perpetual elevating of the English character. Had the bishops stamped out the Bible, England would have been as Italy and Spain were, and much of the world's history would have been differently written. Hence the story of the English Bible is for ever interwoven with the history of England and of the United States. The free Word of God has brought to us freedom of mind, of soul, and of estate ; and we in this, as in so many other things, now inherit, without even a passing thought, principles and privileges which our forefathers oftentimes purchased with their lives. May we in like manner be found faithful to all that is true and right in our day and generation, and hand down intact to our children the munificent gifts which we have received, for nothing, from our ancestors.

What shall we say of the illustrious Translator? Strange alchemy! by transmuting the thought of one language into the expression of another to free a people from ignorance, priestcraft, mental and spiritual serfdom. Yet by the grace of God so it was. Tyndale saw his life's work accomplished. Ere he was taken away, the English ploughboy came to know the Scriptures. He was preeminently a large minded and lofty spirited man. He had great mental capacity, but a greater moral purpose. Ceaselessly for twelve years, at the least, he laboured at his great work ; yet, so to speak, in secret : which is one reason for his not having been adequately appreciated by posterity. For example, he was a far greater man every way than Latimer,

Thomas Cromwell, or even More, though not possessing so bright a wit as he had : yet perhaps he has not been so much honoured as they. Another reason of this is, that in translations the less of the translator the better ; so that he was lost in his works, his controversial writings being quite byplay to his effort in translating. Yet even in controversy he wrote with remarkable strength and clearness. All his work was done in exile ; Henry's agents met him as it were by stealth, and tried to cajole him to come into England. The bishops—like Giant Pope, in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*—bit their nails because they could not get hold of him. So at length he was, by the treachery of that arch-Judas Philips, betrayed ; and then, after twelve months of imprisonment at Vilvorde, his last prayer, previous to strangulation, was 'Lord ! Open the King of England's eyes.'

Much more will some day be known of him. Among the archives of Belgium may yet be found the papers seized in his house at Antwerp by the Emperor's Attorney when he was captured. Among the records of the German Diet may yet be obtained the Emperor's decree ordering his execution. And among some English dust covered collection may still be found such of his manuscripts as passing into the hands of his Timothy—John Rogers—came over into England. Enough is already ascertained to stimulate in us an unceasing search for every trace of him and an increasing study of his works ; and what we already know of his nature and character, of his work and purpose, fully justifies our for ever revering him as the great Apostle of our early Reformation.

A word or two as to the present lithographed Text.

In the original, as might naturally be anticipated, some of the lines and letters are faded and broken. With the view of facilitating their perusal, all these rotten letters have been made perfect, and the Text printed black and sharp. After which the Fragment was again read with the original, so as to ensure absolute accuracy.

It may help those unfamiliar with black letter to state that a dash over a letter indicates that *m* or *n* are to be added : as *tēpte* means *tempte*, *wēt went*. Also that the flourish at the end of some words is the plural *es*, as *whaalles* (whales), *spirites* (spirits), etc.

There are numerous misprints in the text, characteristic of the great difficulties under which it was produced, being secretly composed by the Cologne compositors under great and constant fear of detection.

FINIS CORONAT OPUS.

LAUS DEO.

[THE TITLE PAGE IS WANTING IN THE GRENVILLE COPY.]

The prologge.



Haue here translated

(biethem and susters moost dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the new Testament for youre spirituall edifyinge / consolacion / and solas:

Exhortynge instantly and besechynge those that are better sene in the tonge then y / and that have hyer gyst of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture / and meanynge of the spirite / then y / to consydre and pondre my laboure / and that with the spirite

of mekenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attayned the very sence of the tonge / or meanynge of the scripture / or haue not geven the right englyshe worde / that they put to there handys to amende it / remembrynge that so is there duetie to doo. For we have not receyved the gyst of god for oure selues only / or for to hyde them: but for to bestowe them vnto the honouringe of god and christ / and edifyinge of the congregacion / which is the body of christ.

The causes that moved me to translate / y thought better that other shulde ymagin / then that y shulde rehearse them. More over y supposed yt superfluous / for who ys so blynde to are why lyght shulde be shewed to them that walke in dercknes / where they cannot but stamble / and where to stamble ys the daunger of eternall dammacion / other so despyghsfull that he wolde enuye eny man (y speake nott his brother) so necessary a thinge / or so bedlem madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cause of ynell / and derknes to procede oute of lyght / and that lyinge shulde be grounded in trougth and veritie / and nott rather clene contrary / that lyght destroyeth dercknes / and veritie reprooveth all manner lyinge.

A ij

The

After hit had pleased god to put in my mynde / and also to geue me grace to translate this forehearde newe testament into oure englysshe tonge / how euer we haue done it. I suppose yt very necessary to put you in remembraunce of certayne poynts / which are: that ye well vnderstonde what these wordes meane. ¶ The olde testament. ¶ The newe testamēt. ¶ The lawe ¶ The gospell. ¶ Moses. ¶ Christ. ¶ Nature. ¶ Grace. ¶ Worshipe and beleuyng. ¶ Dedes and saythe / Lest we ascribe / to the one that which belongeth to the other / and make of Christ Moses / of the gospell the Lawe / despise grace and robbe saythe: and fall from meke lernynge into ydell despicious / braueringe and scoldynge aboute wordes. ¶ The olde testamēt is a booke / where in is wyrtten the lawe and comaundmentes of god / and the dedes of them which fulfill them / and of them also which fulfill them not.

The olde testament.

The newe testament

The gospel or euangelion

¶ The newe testamēt is a booke where in are coterneyed the promyses of god / and the dedes of them which beleue them or beleue them not.

Euāgelid̄ (that we call the gospell) is a greke worde / & signifyeth good / mery / glad and ioyfull tyding / that maketh a mannes heart glad / and maketh hym synge / daunce and sleepe for ioye. As when Davyd had kyllid Goliath the geant / cam glad tyding vnto the iewes / that their fearfull and cruell enemy was slayne / and they delyvered oute of all daunger: for gladnes were of / they songe / daunced / and wer ioyfull. In lyke manner is the euangelion of god (which we call gospell) and the newe testamēt ioyfull tyding / and as some saye: a good hearing published by the apostles through oute all the worlde / of Christ the right Davyd howe that he hath fought with synne / with dethe / and the deuill / and ouercome them. Whereby all men that were in bondage to synne / woolded with dethe / ouercū of the deuill / are with oute there awne merit / or deservynge / losed / iustified / restored to lyfe / and saved / brought to libertie / and reconciled vnto the favour of god / and sett at one with hym agayne: which tyding as many as beleeve / laude prayse and thanke god / are glad / synge and daunce for ioye.

whiche euangelion ys called a testamēt

¶ This euangelion or gospell (that is to saye / such ioyfull tyding) is called the newe testament. Because that as a man

Prologge.

when he shall dye apoynteth his goodd^y to be deaste and diffri-
bured after hys dethe amonge them which he nameth to be
his heyres. Even so Christ before his dethe commaunded and
apoynted that suche euangelion/gospell/or tydyngs^s hulde be
declared through onte all the worlde/and there with to geue vn
to all that beleve all his goodd^y/that is to saye/his lyfe/where
with he swallowed and deuoured vp dethe: his rightewesnes/
where with he bānyshed synne: his saluacion/where with he o-
uercam eternall damacion. Nowe can the wretched man (that
is wrapped in synne/and is in daunger to dethe and hell) heare
no moare ioyous a thyng/then suche glad and comfortable ty-
ding^s/of Christ. So that he cannot but be glad and laugh from
the lowe bottom of his hert / if he beleve that the tydyngs^s are
trewe.

¶ To strength such seythe with all/ god promysed this his ewā-
gellion in the old testament by the prophet^s (as paul sayth in
the fyrst chapter vnto the romans). Howe that he was chosen
oute to preache godd^y euangelion/which he before had promys-
sed by the prophet^s in the holy scriptur^s that treat of his sonne
which was borne of the seed of davyd. In the thryd chapter of
genesis/god saith to the serpent: y wyll put hatred bitwene the
and the woman / bitwene thy seede and her seede / that silse
seede shall tread thy heed vnder fote. Christ is this womans sees-
de / he it is that hath troden vnder fote the devyll^s heed / that
is to saye synne/dethe/hell/ and all his power. For with oute
this seede can no man avoyde synne/dethe/hell and cuerlastyns
gedānacion.

¶ Agayne gen. xxi. god promysed Abraham sayinge: in thy seede
shall all the generatiōs of the erthe be blessed. Christ is that sees-
de of Abraham sayth saynet Paul in the thryd to the galathyans
He had blessed all the worlde through the gospel. For where
Christ is not/there remaineth the curse that fel on ada as soone
as he had synned/So that they are in bondage vnder the do-
minacion of synne/dethe/and hell. Agaynst this curse blesteth
nowe the gospel all the worlde/in as moche as it cryeth openly/
who so ever beleueth on the seede of Abraham shall be blessed/that
is/he shall be delyvered frō synne/dethe and hell/and shall hence
forth contynue rightewes/lyvinge/and saved for ever/ as Christ

The

hym sylffe saith (in the xi. of Ihon) He that beleveth on me (hall never more dye.

¶ The lawe (saith the gospell of Ihon in the first chapter) was geven be Moses: but grace and veritie be Iesus Christ. The lawe (whose minister ys moyses) was geven to brynge vs vnto the knowlege of oure selues / that we myght there by fele and perceave what we are of nature. The lawe condemneth vs and all oure dedes / and is called of Paul (in the thyd chap. of the second pistle vnto the corinthians) the mynistracion of dethe. For it byteth oure consciences and driveth vs to desperacion / in as muche as it requyren of vs that whych is vnpossible for vs to doo. It requyren of vs the dedes of an whole / man. It requyren of vs to be free from the lowe bottome and grounde of the hert / as well in all thinges whych we suffre / as in tho thinges whych we doo. But saith Ihon (in the same place) grace and veritie is geuen vs in christ. So that when the lawe hath passed vpon vs / and condemned vs to deeth (whych is his nature to doo) then have we in Christ grace / that is to saye favoure / promyses of lyfe / of mercy / of perdon frely by the merites of Christ / and in Christ have we veritie and trouthe / in that god fulfillith all his promyses to them that beleve. Therefore is the gospell the ministracion of lyfe. Paul calleth hit / in the fore rehearsed place of the second chap. to the cor. the ministracion of the spyrite / and of rightewesnes. In the gospell when we beleve the promyses / we receave the spyrite of lyfe / and are iustified in the bloud of Christ from all thinges where of the lawe condemned vs. Of Christ it is written in the fore rehearsed first chapter of Iho: This is he of whose abundance / or fullnes / all we have receaved / grace for grace / or favoure for favoure. That is to saye / for the favoure that god hath to his sonne Christ / he geueth vnto vs his savour / and good will / as a father to his sonnes. As affirmeth Paul sayinge: whych loved vs in his beloved before the creation of the world. For the love that god hath to Christ / he loveth vs / and not for oure awne saut. Christ is made lord over all / and is called in scripture goddys mercy stole whosoever flyeth to Christ / can neither beare nor receave of god eny other thinge save mercy.

¶ In the olde testament are many promyses / whych are nothinge els but the evangelion or gospell / to save those that beleved

Prologge.

them / from the vengauce of the lawe. And in the newe testament is ofte made mencion of the lawe / to condem them / whych beleve nott the promyses. Moreover the lawe and gospell maye never be seperate: for the gospell and promyses serve but for troubled consciency whych ar brought to desperacion and fele the paynes of hell and dethe vnder the lawe / and are in captivitie and bondage vnder the lawe. In all my dede y muste have the lawe before me to condem myne vnperfectnes. For all that y doo (be y never so perfecte) is yet damnable synne / when hit is compared to the lawe / whych requyrethe the grounde and botcom of myne hert. I muste therefore have alwayes the lawe in my sight / that y maye be meke in the spyrte / and gyve god all the laude and prayse / ascrybinge to hym all rightewesnes / and to my fylse all vnrightewesnes and synne. I muste also have the promyses before myne eyes / that y desyre nott / in whych promyses y se the mercy / favoure / and good wyll of god apon me in the bloud of his sonne Christ / whych hath made satisfaction for myne vnperfectnes / and fulfilled for me / that whych y could not doo.

¶ Here maye ye perceave that two manner of people are sore deceived. firste they whych iustifie them selve with outwarde dede / in that they abstayne outwardly from that whych the lawe forbiddeth / and doo outwardly that whych the lawe commaundeth. They compare them selves to open synners and in respecte of them iustifie them selues condemnynge the open synners. They se nott howe the lawe requyrethe love from the bottom of the hert. If they dyd they wolde nott condene there neighbours. Love bydeth the multitude of synnes / saith saynt Peter in his first pistle. For whom y love from the depe bottom and grounde of myne hert / hym condem y nott / nether recke his synnes / but suffre his wealnes and infirmyte / as a mother the wafnes of her sonne / untill he growe vppe in to a perfecte mā. ¶ Those also are deceived whych with oute all feare of god geve them selves vnto all māner vices with full cōsent / and full delectaciō / havinge no respecte to the lawe of god (vnder whose vengauce they are locked vp in captivitie) but saye god is mercifull and christ dyed for vs / supposinge that suche doo mynys and ymaginaciōs that sayth whych is so greatly comēded i holy scripture.

The

Maye that is nott sayth / but rather a folishe opynion springynge of there awne nature / and is nott geuen them of the spyrite of god. Trewe sayth is (as sayth the apostle Paul) the gyfte of god and is geuen to syners after the lawe hath passed upon them and hath brought there consciency vnto the brym of desperacion / and sorowes of hell.

¶ They that have this right sayth / consent to the lawe that it is rightewes and good / and iustifie god which made the lawe / and have delectacion in the lawe (nott withstandinge that they can nott fulfill it / for there weatnes) and they abhorre what soeuer the lawe forbyddeth / though they cannot avoyde it. And there greate sorowe is / because they cannot fulfill the will of god in the lawe / and the spyrite that is in them cryeth to god nyght and daye for strength and helpe with teares (as sayth Paul) that cannot be expressed with tonge.

A iusticiarie

¶ The firste / that is to saye a iusticiarie / which iustifieth hym selfe with his outward dedes / consenteth nott to the lawe in warde / nether hath delectacion therein / ye / he wolde rather that no suche lawe were. So iustifieth he nott god / but hateth hym as a tyrant / nether careth he for the promyses / but will with his awne strength be saueour of hym selfe: no wyse glorifyeth he god / though he seme outward to doo.

A sensewell man

¶ The seconde / that is to saye the sensewell persone / as a voluptuous swyne / nether feareth god in his lawe / nether is thankfull to hym for his promyses and mercy / which is sett forth in Christ to all them that belewe.

A Chyستن man.

¶ The right chyستن man consenteth to the lawe that hit is rightewes / and iustifieth god in the lawe / for he affirmeth that god is rightewes and iuste / which is autor of the lawe / he beleueth the promyses of god / and so iustifieth god / indyngynge hym trewe and beleuinger that he will fulfill his promyses. With the lawe he condemneth hym selfe and all his dedes / and geueth all the prayse to god. he beleueth the promyses / and ascribeth all trowth to god / thus every where iustifieth he god / and prayseth god.

Nature.

¶ By nature throught the fanle of adam / are we the chyldren of wrath / heyres of the vengeaunce of god by birth / ye and from oure conception / we hane oure fellowshipe with the damned devyll vnder the power of darlines vnd rule of satan / whyle we

Prologge.

we are yett in oure mothers wombes / though we shewe nott
forthe the frentes of synne / yett are we full of the naturall poy-
son where of all synfull dedes sprynge / and canott but synne out-
wardes (be we never so yonge) yf occasion be geuen / for oure na-
ture is to doo synne / as is the nature of a serpent to styng. And
as a serpent yett yonge / or yett unbrought forth is full of poyson /
and cannot afterwarde (when the tyme is come and occasion
geuen) butt brynge forth the frentes there of. And as an edder /
a tode / or a snake is hated of man / (nott for the yvell that it hath
done / but for the poyson that is in it and hurt which it cannot
but doo) So are we hated of god for that naturall poyson which
is conceived and borne with vs / before we doo eny outward y-
vell. And as the yvell / which a venomous woorme doeth / maketh
it nott a serpent : but be cause it is a venomous woorme. therefo-
re doeth it yvell and poysoneth. And as the frute maketh not the
tree evyll : but because it is an evyll tree / therfore bryngeth it
forth evyll frute / when the season of frute is. Even so doo nott
oure evyll dedes make vs evyll : but because that of nature we
are evyll / therfore we bothe thynke and doo evyll / and are un-
der vengeance / under the lawe / convicted to eternall damnacion
by the lawe / and are contrary to the will of god in all oure wyll /
and in all thyngs consent to the wyll of the fende.

¶ By grace (that is to saye by favoure) we are plucked oute of
Adam the grounde of all evyll / and grafted in Chrust the roote of
all goodnes. In Chrust god loved vs his electe and chosen / before
the worlde begā / and reserved vs vnto the knowlege of his son-
ne and of hys holy gospell / and when the gospell is preached
to vs he openeth oure hertes / and geveith vs grace to beleve
and putteth the spirite of Chrust in vs / and we knowe hi-
me as oure father most mercifull / and consent to the lawe
we / and love it inwardly in oure hert / and desyre to fulfyll it /
and so we because we cannot / which wyll (synne we of frail-
tie never so moche) is sufficient till more strength be geve vs / the
bloud of Chrust hath made satisfaction for the rest / the bloud of
Chrust hath obeyned all thyngs for vs of god. Chrust is oure saris-
faction / redemer / delyverer / saveour from vengeance and wor-
th. Observe and merke in the pistles of Paul / and Peter / and

B.

Fayth/love/
woikes

Rightewes/
nes other wi
se iustifyinge
or iustice

The

in the gospell and pistles of Ihon what Christ is vnto vs.

¶ By fayth are we saved only in beleuyng the promyses /. And though faith be never with oute love and good werkes/yet is oure savinge imputed nether to loue nor vnto good werks/ but vnto fayth only. For loue and werks are vnder the lawe which requy- reth perfection / and the grounde and fontayne of the hert / and dāneth all imperfectnes. Nowe is faith vnder the promyses/ wich dāne not: but geve all grace/mercy and favour / and what soever is conterned in the promyses.

¶ Rightewesnes is diuers / Blynde reason ymagineth many maner of righte wesnes. As the iuste ministracion of all maner of lawes/and the obseruinge of them/ and morall vertues were in philosophers put there felicitie and blessednes / which all are nothige in the sight of god. There is in lyke maner the iustifyinge of ceremonies/ some ymagid them there one selues/ some conterfaicte other/ sayinge in there blynde reason: suche holy persons dyd thus and thus/ and they were holymē/ therfore yf y doo so lyke wyse y shall please god: but they have none answer of god/ that that pleaseth. The iewes seke rightewnes i there ceremonies which god gave vnto them/ not for to iustifie: but to describe and paynt Christ vnto them/ of which iewes testifieth paul sayinge howe that they have affectid to god: but not after knowlege/ for they go aboute to stablisse there one iustice/ and are not obediēt to the iustice or rightewesnes that cometh of god. The cause is verely/ that excepte a man caste awaye his awne ymaginacion and reason/ he cannot perceave god/ and vnderstonde the vertue and power of the blond of Christ. There is the rightewesnes of werks (as y saide before) whē the hert is a waye/ they sele not howe the lawe is spirituall and cannot be fulfilled/ but from the bottom of the hert. Ther is a full rightewesnes/ when the lawe is fulfilled from the groude of the hert. This had nother Peter nor Paul i this lyfe perfectly: but syghed after yt. They were so far forth blessed in Christ/ that they hūgred and thirsted after it. Paul had this thurst/ he cōsented to the lawe of god/ that it ought so to be/ but he founde another luste in his membres cōtrary to the luste and desire of his mynde/ and therfore cryed oute sayinge: Oh wretched man that y am: who shall deliuer

Prologge

me from this boddy of dethe/ thank; be to god thow we Iesus
Christ. The rightewesnes that before god is of value/ is to beles
vo the promyses of god/ after the lawe hath confounded the con-
science. As when the temporall lawe ofte tymes condemmeth
the these or morderer and byngeth hym to execution/ so that he
seith nothinge before hym but present dethe/ and then cometh
good tyding/ a charter from the kynge and delyvereth him. Lyke
wyse when gooddys lawe hath brought the synner into knowle-
ge of him sylfe/ and hath cofounded his/ conscience/ and opened
vnto him the wrath and vengeaunce of god/ then cometh good
tydings/ the Euagelion sheweth vnto him the promyses of god
in Christ/ and howe that Christ hath purchesed pardon for him
hath satisfied the lawe for him/ and peased the wrath of god/
and the povre synner beleveth/ lauderh and thanketh god/ thro-
we Christ/ and breaketh oute into excedige inward ioy and glad-
nes/ for that he hath escaped so greate wrath/ so hevy vengean-
ce/ so fearfull and so everlastinge a dethe/ and he hence forth is
an hūgred and athurst after more rightewesnes/ that he might
fulfyll the lawe/ and morneth continually commendinge his we-
alnes vnto god in the bloud of oure saviour Christ Iesus

¶ Here shall ye see compendiously and playnly sett oute
the order and practise of every thyng afore rehearsed.

¶ The fault of adam hath made vs heyres of the vengeaunce and
wrath of god/ and heyres of eternall dānacion. And hath brou-
ght vs into captivite and bondage vnder the devyll. And the de-
vyll is oure lorde/ and oure ruler/ oure heed/ oure governour/ ou-
re prince/ ye and oure god. And oure wyll is locked and knet fa-
ster vnto the wyll of the devyll/ then conde an hundred thow-
sand cheynes bynde a man vnto a post. Vnto the devyll will co-
sent we/ with all oure hertes/ with all oure myndes/ with all ou-
re myght/ power/ strength/ will and luste. With what possenod/
deadly/ and venomous hate/ hateth a man his enemy? With ho-
we greate malice of mynde inwardly doo we sleie and murder?
With what violēce and rage/ ye and with howe servent luste co-
mmit we adnourtrie/ fornicacion/ and such lyke vnclemnes? with
what pleasure and delectation inwardly serveth a glotton his
belly? With what diligēce disceave we? Howe busshly seeth we the

Adam bryn-
geth vs to bō
page

B ij

The

thynges of this world: What so ever we doo/thynke/o: ymmagi-
on/is abominable in the syght of god. And we are as it were as-
lepe in so depe blyndnes/that we can nether se/no: felfe in what
misery/thraldom/and wretchednes we are in/ tyll moyses come
and wake vs/and publess he the lawe. When we heare the lawe
truly preached / howe that we ought to love and honour god
with all oure strengthe and myght / from the lowe bottom of
the hert: and oure neghbur? (ye oure enemyes) as oure selues in-
wardly from the groude of the hert/and to doo what so ever god
biddeth/and absteyne from what so ever god forbiddeth / with
all love and meknes/ whet a fervent and a burnyng luste/ from
the center of the hert / then begynneth the conscience to rage
aginst the lawe/and aginst god/ No sec be hit never se greate a
tempest/ is so vnquiet. It is not possyble for a naturall man to
consent to the lawe / that hit shuld be good/o: that god shuld be
rightewes/which maketh the lawe. Mannes witte/reason/and
will/are so fast glued/ye nayled and cheyned vnto the will of the
devyll. Nether can any creature losse the bodes/save the bloud
of Christ.

**Christ setteth
vs att libertie**

¶ This is the captivite and bondage whēce Christ delivred vs /
redemed/and lowsed vs. His bloud/his deethe/his pacience/in
suffryng rebukes and wrongs/his preyaers and fastyngs/his
mekenes and fulfyllinge of the vtmost poynte of the lawe / pe-
sed the wiaht of god/brought the faver of god to vs agayne/ob-
teyned that god shuld love vs fryste/and be oure farher/and that
a mercysfull farher/that will consyde oure infirmitates and we-
aknes/and will geve vs his spyrite ageyne (which was taken a-
waye in the fall of Adam) to rule govern and strength vs/and
to breake the bondes of Satan/where in we were so streyte bo-
unde. When Christ is thus wyse preached/and the prōm yfes res-
hearsed/ which are conteyned in the prophett/in the psalmes/
and in divers places of the fyve booke of moyses: then the hert of
them which are electe and chose/begin to wepe softe/and to mel-
te att the bounteous mercy of god/and kyndnes shewed of Christ.
For whē the ewāgelion is preached/the spyrite of god entreteth i to
them which god hath ordeined and apoynted vnto eternall lyfe/
and openeth there inward eyes / and worketh such belefe in the.

**The ewāgeli-
on bryngeth
faythe/faythe
bryngeth love
love worketh**

Prologge.

Whe the wofull cōsciēces sele & taste howe swete at higer the byt-
ter dethe of Christ is / & howe mercifull & lovinge god is through
Christes purchesyng and meritt / They begyn to love agayne /
and to consent to the lawe of god / howe that hit is good / and
ought so to be / and that god is rightewes whych made it / And
desyre to fulfill the lawe / even as a sicke mā desyres to be who-
le / and are an hongred / and a thirst after more rightewesnes /
and after more strēgthe / to fulfill the lawe more perfectly. And
in all that they doo / or omitt and leave undone / they seke goddes
honoure / and his will with meknes / ever condemnyng the on-
perfecnes of there dedes by the lawe.

¶ Nowe Christ stonderb vs in doble stede / and serveth vs two
maner wise. First he is oure redemer / delyverer / reconciler / me-
diator / intercessor / advocat / atturney / soliciter / oure hope / com-
forte / helde / proteccion / defender / strength / helth / satisfaction /
and salvation. His blood / his deatch / all that he ever dyd / is oures.
And Christ him selfe / with all that he is or cā doo / is oures.
His blood shedyng and all that he dyd / doeth me as good ser-
vice / as though y my selfe had done it. And god (as greate as
he is) is myne with all that he hath / throw Christ and his pur-
chasyng. ¶ Secondly after that we be overcome with lo-
ve and kyndnes / and nowe seke to doo the will of god (whych is
a christen manes nature) Then have we christe an ensample to
counterfet / as saith christ him selfe in Jhon: I have given yon
an ensample. And in an other evangeliste / he saith: He that wil-
be greate amonge you shalbe youre servaunt and minister / as
the sōne of mā cā to minister and not to be ministered unto. And
Paul saith: Counterfet Christ. And Peter saith: Christ died for
you / and leste you and ensample to folowe his steppes. What
soever therfore saith hath received of god throw Christ / blood
and deservyng / that same must love shed oute everywhit / and
bestowe hit on oure neghbours unto there proffett / ye and that
though they be oure enemyes. He saith we receive of god / and be
love washed oute agayne. And that must we doo frely after the
ensample of Christ with oure eny other respecte / save oure
neghbours welth only / and nether lofe for reward in erth / ner
yet in heven for oure dedes: bur of pure love must we bestowe

Christ bryn-
geth all good-
nes frely / and
gevethe an en-
sample howe
to be stowe to
godly.

Faythe recei-
veth of god /
and love be-
stoweth the
same on hys
neghbours.

A trewe christyn man beleueth that he/ vyngys hys alreddy by christes purchesinge/ and therfore loveth/ and worketh/ to honour god only/ and to drawe althynge to god.

The

oure selves/ all that we have/ and all that we are able to doo/ even on oure enemyes to brynge them to god/ considerynge nothyng but there welth/ as Christ dyd oures. Christ dyd nott his dedes to obteyne heven therbi (that had bene a madnes) heven was his alreddy/ he was heyre there of/ hit was his be enheritaunce: but dyd them frely for oure sakes/ consideringe nothyng but oure welth/ and to brynge the favour of god to vs agayne / and vs to god. As no naturall some that is his father/ theyre/ doeth his father? will be cause he wolde be heyre/ that he is alreddy be birth: his father gave him that yer he was borne/ and is lothther that he shuld goo with oure it / then he himsilfe hath witt to be: but of puer love doeth he that he doeth. And are him why he doeth eny thyng that he doeth/ he answereth: my father bade/ it is my father? will / it pleaseth my father. Bond servaunt? worke for hyre/ Children for love. For there father with all he hath / is the? alreddy. So doeth a christen man frely all that he doeth/ consideringe nothyng but the will of god/ and his neyghbour? welth only. Yf y live chaste/ I doo hit nott to obteyne heven therby. For then shulde y doo wronge to the bloud of Christ: Christes bloud hath obteyned me that / Christes merett? have mademe heyre there of. He is both dore and waye therher ward. Nether that y loke for an hyer roume in hev? / then they shall have whych live in wedlocke/ other then a hoare of the stewes (yf she repent) for that werethe pryde of lucifer: Bnt frely to wayte on the evangelion/ and to serve my brother with all/ even as one hande helpeth another/ or one membre another/ because one feleth another? grefe/ and the payne of the one is the payne of the other. What soever is done to the leest of vs (whether it be good or bad) it is done to Christ. And what soever is done to my brother (yf he be a christen man) that same is done to me. nether doeth my brother? payne greveme lesse then myne awne. Nether reioys y lesse at his welth then at myne awne. Yf hit were not so: howe saith Paul? let him that reioyseth / reioyse in the Lord. that is to saye christ/ whych is lord over all creatures. Yf my merett? obteyned me hev? or an hyer roume there/ then had y where in y myght reioyse besydes the Lorde.

¶ Here se ye the nature of the lawe/ and the nature of the evange-

lion. Howe the Lawe byndeth and dāneth all mē/and the Eva-
 gelion lowseth them ageyne. The lawe goeth before/and the eva-
 gelion foloweth. When a preacher preacheth the Lawe / he byn-
 derh all consciences/and when he preacheth the Gospell/helov-
 seth them agayne. These two salves(y meane the Lawe and the
 Gospell) vseth God and his preacher to heale and cure synners
 with all. The lawe dryveth oute the disease/and maketh hit ape-
 re/and is a sharppe salve/and a freatyng coissey/and fylleth the
 deed fleshe/and lowseth and draweth the sores out by the rotes/
 and all corrupcion. It pulleth from a man the trust and confi-
 dēce that he hath in him silfe / and in his owe work / merit /
 deserving and ceremones. It killeth him / sendeth him downe
 to hell/and bryngeth him to vtter desperation/and preparerh
 the waye of the lord/as hit is wrytten of Jhon the Baptest.
 For hit is nott possible that Christ shuld come to a man/as lo-
 ge as he trusteth in him silfe / or in eny worldly thyng. Then
 cometh the Evangelion / a more gentle plaster / whych sow-
 plerh/and swageth the woundes of the conscience/and bryngeth
 helth. It bryngeth the spyrite of god / whych lowseth the bon-
 des of satan/and coplerh vs to god and his will throw stronge
 faith and fervent love/with bondes to stronge for the devyll/the
 world/ or eny creature to lowse them. And the poore and wret-
 ched synner feleth so greate mercy/love / and kyndnes in god/
 that he is suer in him silfe howe that it is nott possible that god
 shuld forsake him/or withdrawe his mercy and love from him.
 And boldly cryeth our with Paul sayinge: Who shall seprate
 vs frō the love that god loveth vs withall? That is to saye. what
 shall make me beleve that god loveth me nott? Shall tribulaci-
 on? Angnysshe? Persecucion? Shall hūger? Nakednes? Shall a
 swearde? Nay/I am sewer that nether deeth / ner lyse/nether
 angell/nether rule/ner power/nether present thyng/ner thyn-
 g to come/nether bye ner lowe/nether eny creature is able to se-
 perate vs frō the love of god which is in christ Jesu oure lorde.
 In all such tribulacions a Christen man perceaveth that god is
 his father / and loveth hym / even as he loved Christ when he
 shed his blond on the crosse. Synally/as before/whe y was bōd
 to the devyll and his will/y wroght all māner evyll and wicked-
 nes/nott for helles sake which is her reward of synne/but be cause

To bynd and lowse.

A christe mā
 feleth the
 workyng of
 the holy goost
 in his soule.
 and in all tri-
 bulacions
 and adversi-
 ties fealeth
 god a mercy/
 full father and
 a lorynge.

The

y was heyre of hell by byrth and bondage to the devyll/dyd y e
vyll. For I could none other wese doo. to doo syn was minature.
Even so nowe sence y am copled to god by Christes bloud /doo
y well/uott for hevens sake:but be cause y am heyre of heven by
grace and Christe purchesynge / and have the spyrit of god/ I
doo good frely/for so is my nature. As a good tree bryngeth forth
good frute/and an evyll tree evyll frute. Byr the frutes shall ye
knowe what the tree is. a mannes dedes declare what he is
with in but make him nether good ner bad 2c. We must be first
evyll yer we doo evyll/as a serpent is first poysoned yr he poyson.
We must be also good yer we doo good/as the fyre must be first
hott yer hit warme eny thyng. Take an ensample. As those
blynde whych are cured in the evangelion / coude nott se tyll
Christ had geven them sight/ And deff coude nott heare / tyll
Christ had geven them hearynge/And those sicke coude nott doo
the dedes of an whole man/tyll Christ had geven them health:
So can no man doo good in his soule / tyll Christ have lowsed
him oute of the bondes of sarā/ and have geve him where with
to doo good/ye and firste have powred into him that selfe good
thyng whych he shedeth south afterwarde on other. What soe
ver is oure awne is synne. What soever is above that / is Chri
stys gyste/purches/doynge/and workynge. He bought it of his
father derely with his bloud/ye with his moost bitter deatb and
gave his lyfe for hit. What soever good thyng is in vs / that is
given vs frely with oute oure deservyng or meritt for
Christys bloudys sake. That we desyre to solow the will
of god/it is the gyste of Christys bloud. That we nowe
hare the devylls will (where vnto we were so
fast locked/and coude nott but love hit) is
also the gyste of Christes blond/vnto
whom belongeth the preysse and
honoure of oure good dedes/
and nott vnto vs.

The booke conteyned in the newe Testament.

- i The gospell of saynct Mathew
- ii The gospell of S. Marke
- iii The gospell of S. Luke
- iiii The gospell of S. Ihon
- v The actes of the apostles written by S. Luke
- vi The epistle of S. Paul to the Romans
- vii The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to the Corrinthians
- viii The second pistle of S. Paul to the Cortinthians
- ix The pistle of S. Paul to the Galathians.
- x The pistle of S. Paul to the Ephesians.
- xi The pistle of S. Paul to the Philippians
- xii The pistle of S. Paul to the Collossians
- xiii The fyrst pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tesselonians
- xiiii The seconde pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tesselonians
- xv The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to Timothe.
- xvi The seconde pistle of S. Paul to Timothe.
- xvii The pistle of S. Paul to Titus
- xviii The pistle of S. Paul vnto Philemon
- xix The fyrst pistle of S. Peter
- xx The seconde pistle of S. Peter
- xxi The fyrst pistle of S. Ihon
- xxii The seconde pistle of S. Ihon
- xxiii The thryd pistle of S. Ihon

The pistle vnto the Ebwes
 The pistle of S. James
 The pistle of Jude
 The revelacion of Ihon.



The gospell of S. Matthew.

The fyrst Chapter.



Thys ys the boke of

the generaciō of Iesus Christ the sonne of David / The sonne also of Abraham
 ¶ Abraham begatt Isaac: Chā.
 Isaac begatt Jacob:
 Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre-
 Judas begatt Phares: (thren:
 and Saram of thamar:
 Phares begatt Esrom:
 Esrom begatt Aram:
 Aram begatt Aminadab:

* Abraham and David are fyrst re-
 heard / because
 that churche was
 chesly promysed
 vnto them.

Aminadab begatt naasson:

Naasson begatt Salmon:

Salmon begatt boos of rahab:

Boos begatt obed of ruth:

Obed begatt Jesse:

Jesse begatt david the kynge:

¶ David the kynge begatt Solomon / of her that was the
 (wyfe of vry:

Solomon begatt roboam:

Roboam begatt Abia:

Abia begatt asa:

Asa begatt iosaphat:

Josaphat begatt Joram:

Joram begatt Osias:

Osias begatt Joatham:

Joatham begatt Achas:

Achas begatt Ezechias:

Ezechias begatt Manasses:

Manasses begatt Amon:

Amon begatt Josias:

Josias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of
 the captivite of babilon

¶ After they were led captive to babilon / Jechonias begatt the .xv. c.

Saynet mathew
 levethe out certe-
 yne generacions/
 & describeth the
 ristis linage from
 solomō / after the
 lawe of Moyses /
 but Lucas descri-
 beth it accordyng
 to nature / fro na-
 than solomōs br-
 other. For the la-
 we callerth them
 a mannes childre
 which his broder
 begatt of his wy-
 fe leste behynde
 hym after his des-

The Gospell of

Salathiel.

Salathiel begatt Zorobabel:

Zorobabell begatt Abiud:

Abiud begatt Eliachim:

Eliachim begatt Azor:

Azor begatt Sadoc:

Sadoc begatt Achin:

Achin begatt Eliud:

Eliud begatt Eleasar:

Eleazar begatt Nathan:

Nathan begatt Jacob:

* That ys to saye
by the workige 2
power of the holy
goste.

* Defame
That is he wolde
not put her to ope
shame/as he wel
might haue done
bi the lawe. Also
marthew reioysith
of the goodnes of
ioseph/ which for
loves sake dyd re
myt of his ryght.

* Jesus.
Jesus is asmo /
che to saye as a sa
ver/ for he onli sa
veth all men from
their synnes bi his
mercyes with ou
re there deservyn

Christe byngeth
god. where Christ
it is there is god.
and were christ
is not there is not
god.

* Till
she. yet shall not
suppoose that he

Jacob begatt Joseph the husband of mary / of whom was
borne that Jesus which ys called christ.

¶ All the generations from Abraham to David ar four
tene generaciōs. And from David vnto the captivite of ba
bylon/ar fourtene generaciōs. And from the captivite of ba
bylon vnto chyst / ar also fourtene generations.

¶ The byrthe of Christ was on this wyse / when his mother
Mary was married vnto Joseph/before they cam to dwell to
geder/ (he was founde with chylde by the holy * goost. The her
husbande Joseph/beinge a perfecte man/and lothe to * defa
me her/was mynded to put her awaye secretly. Whyle he
thus thought/beholde/the angel of the lorde apered vnto him
in his slepe sayinge: Joseph the sonne of David/fear not to ta
ke vnto the/Mary thy wyse. For that which is conceived in
her / is of the holy goost. She shall brynge forth a sonne/ and
thou shalt call his name * Jesus. For he shall save his people
from their synnes.

¶ All this was done/to fulfill that which was spoken of the
lorde/ by the prophet sayinge: beholde a mayde shall be with
chylde/and shall brynge forth a sonne/ and they shall call his
name Emmanuell/ which is as moche to saye/be interpretaciō
on/as god with vs.

¶ Joseph as soone as he awoke out of slept/ dyd as the an
gell of the lorde bade hym / and toke his wyse vnto him/ and
knewe her nott*/tyll she hadde brought forth the her fyrst son
ne/ and called his name Jesus.

The Seconde Chapter.



When Jesus was borne in beth

lehem a toun of iury/in the time of kynge Herode/ beholde/ there cam x wyse men fro the este to Jerusalem sayinge: where is he that is borne kynge of the iewes? we have sene his starre in the este/ and are come to worshippe hym.

¶ Herode the kynge/ after he hadde herde this / was troubled/ and all Jerusalem with hym / and he sent for all the chiefe preestes and scribes of the people/ and demaunded of them where Christ shulde be borne. They sayde vnto him: in bethlehem a toun of iury. For thus is it wrytten by the prophet: *mich. v* And thou bethlehem in the lode of x iury/ shalt not be the leest as perteynyng to the prynces of iuda. For out of thes shall come a captayne / whych shall govern my people israhel.

¶ Then Herod preuely called the wyse men / and diligently enquired of them/ the tyme of the starre that appered. And sent them to bethlehem sayinge: when ye be come thyder searche diligently for the chylde. And when ye haue founde hym bringe me worde/ that y maye come and worfhippe hym also. Whē they had herde the kynge/ they departed/ and lo the starre whych they sawe in the este went before them/ vntyll it came and stode over the place where the chylde was. Whē they sawe the starre/ they were marveylously gladd. And entred into the house/ and found the childe with Mary his mother/ and kneled doune and worfhipped hym / and opened there treasures/ and offred vnto him gyftes / gold/ frankynsence / and myrr. And after they were warned in their slepe/ that they shulde not go a geyne to Herod/ they returned into there own countre another waye.

¶ After that they were departed / lo the angell of the lord appeared to Joseph in his slepe sayinge: arise and take the chylde and his mother/ and fflye in to egipre / and abyde there tyll y bringe the worde. For Herod wyll seeke the chylde to destroye

knew her after / warde/ but hit is the maner of the scripture so to speake / as ge. viij. c. the ravin cam not againe till the water was drake vpon pe and the erthe drye/ the scripture meaneth nort / he cam agayne after warde: evyn so here/ hit foloweth not that ioseph knewe oure lady after warde.

* wyse men. Of mathew they are callid Magi / 2 in certeyne countreis i the est / philosophers conynge in naturall causes 2 effectes/ and also the preestes were so callid.

* Jery is the londe. Juda is that trybe or kynned that dwelt there in.

The Gospell of

hym. Then he arose / and toke the chyld and his mother by nyght / and departed into egipte / and was there vnto the deathe of herod / to fulfill that which was spoken of the lord / by the prophet / which sayeth: out of egipte haue y called my sone. Ise. xi.
Ru.
xiii

¶ Then Herod perceauynge that he was mocked of the wyse men / was excedynge worathe / and sent forth and slewe all the chyldre that were in bethlehẽ / and i all the coostes there off / as many as were two yere olde and vnder / accordyng to the tyme which he had diligently searched out of the wyse men.

* Rachel was buried not ferre from bethlehem / so the prophet signifieth that as she mourned her sone beniamyn / in whos byrth she dyed / so shuld the mothers of these chyldren mourne. And here maye we see howe it goeth all waye / with the righte chrysten men before the world / for the saythes sake / which they haue yn christe / nott withstandinge they are wonderfully mayntained & defended alwaye of god / ageynst all power of hell.

¶ Then was fulfilled / that which was spokẽ by the prophet Jeremi / sayinge: On the hilles was a voice herde / mournynge / wepyng / and greate lamentacion. * Rachel wepyng for her chyldre / and wolde not be cõsforted / be cause they were not.

¶ When Herod was deed / so an angell of the lord appeared vnto Joseph in egipte sayinge: arise and take the chyld and his mother / and go into the londe of israhel. For they are deed / which sought the chyldes deeth. The he arose vp / and toke the chyld and his mother / and cam into the londe of israhel. But when he herde that Archilaus dyd raygne in iury / in the roume of his father Herod / he was afrayde to go thyder / nott withstandinge after he was warned in his slepe / he turned aside into the parties of galile / and wet and dwelt in a cete called nazareth / to fulfill that which was spokẽ by the prophet: He shalbe called of nazareth. Ise. xi.
Judi.
xiiij.

The thyrde Chapter.



In those dayes Ihon the baptyster / cam and preached in the wyldernes of iury sayng: repent / the kyngedome of heven ys at hand. Thys ys he of whom it ys spoken be the prophet I say / which sayth: the voice of a cryer in wyldernes / prepaire ye the lordes waye / and make hys pathes strayght.

¶ Thys Ihon had hys garment of camells heere / and a gyrdyll of a skynne about hys loynes. Hys meate was * locusts / and wyldhe ony. Then went out to him Iernusalem / and all

* Locustes / are more then oware

Lu. iij.
Iho. i
Ise. xl.
Mar. i

ientry/and all the region rounde about iordane/and were baptysed of hym in iordane/knowledgyngether synnes.

¶ Whe he sawe many of the pharises and of the saduces come to hys baptim/he sayd vnto the. O generacion of vipers/who hath taught you to fye frō the vegaunce to come? bryng forth the therfore the frutt/ belongynge to repentaunce. And se that ye oncthynte not to saye in youre selues/we haue Abraham to oure father. For y saye vnto you /that god ys able of these stones/to reyse vp chyldre vnto Abraham. Euen now ys the axe put vnto the rote of the trees: so that every tree whych bryngeth not forth/good frute/shalbe hewen doune/and cast in to the fyre/

¶ I baptise you in water/in token of repentaunce /but he that cometh after me/ys myghtyer the y: whose shewes y am not worthy to beare. He shall baptise you with the holy goost / & with fyre/whiche hath also hys fanne in hys hond /and wyll pourdge hys floore/and gaddre the wheete in to hys garner/and will burne the chaff with everlastinge fyre.

¶ Then cam Jesus from galile into iordan to Ihon/for to be baptised of him. But Ihon forbade hym sayinge: y ought to be baptised of the: and comest thou to me? Jesus answered and sayd to him/let ytr be so nowe. For thus hit becometh vs/to fulfill all *rightwefnes. The he suffred hym. And Jesus as soone as he was baptised/ca strayght out of the water: And lo heve was opē vnto him: and he sawe the spirite of god descēde lyke a dove/and lyght vppō him. And lo there cam a voice frō heve saying: thys ys my deare sonne/ in whom is my delyte.

Job. i.
Dat. i.
xvij.

The fourgthe Chapter.

Dat. i.
Lu. iiij.



¶ Then was Jesus led awaie of the spirite into a desert /to be tempted of the devyll. And when he had fasted fourtye dayes/and xl. nyghtes / att the last he was anhungred. Then came vntyll hym the tempter/and sayde: yff thou be the sonne of god/commānde that these stones be made bread. deeth.

greshoppers/ & southe men vse to easete i diuers parties of the este.

¶ But your truste i goddes wordes only/ & not i abraham. Let sayntes be an ensāple vnto you & not your truste & cōfidence. For then ye make Christ of them.

* All Rightwefnes / ys fulfilled when we forsake all oure awne rightwefnes / that god only maye be counted he which is rightwes/ & maketh rightwes/ rightwes/ throweth. This doeth Ihon i that he putteth frō hym hys awne rightwefnes/ & wold be witness of Christ ad made rightwes. This also doeth Christe i that he taketh not rightwefnes & honour on hym: but suffereth hym selfe to be baptised & killed/ for baptim is none other thinge then

The Gospell of

He answered and sayde: yt ys wyrtten/man shall nott live
only bi breade/ But by every worde that proceedeth out of the
mouth of god. den. xviii.

¶ Then the devyll tooke him vp in to the holy cete / and set
hym on a pynacle of the temple/and sayd vnto him: yf thou be psal. xc.
the sonne of god/cast thy sylfe doune. For hit ys wyrtten/he
shall geve hys angells charge ouer the/and with there hādes
they shall stey the vp/that thou dastt be nott thy fote agaynst
a stone. Iesus seyde to hym /hit ys wyrtten also: thou shalt Deu. vi.
nott tempre thy lorde god.

¶ The devyll toke hym vp agayne and ledde him in to an ex-
cedyng hie moūtain / and shewed hym all the kyngdomes
of the worlde/and the beauty of them/and sayd vnto him: all
these wyll y geve the / yf thou wilt fall doune and worship-
pe me. Then sayd Iesus vnto hym / awoyd satan. For hit ys Deu. vi
wyrtten/thou shalt worshippe thy lorde god / and hym only/
shalt thou serue.

¶ Then the devyll lest him / and lo the angells cam and mi-
nistred vnto hym.

¶ When Iesus had herde that Jhon was taken / he depar-
ted in to galile/and lest nazareth/and went and dwelte in ca-
pernaū/whyche ys a cete vppon the see/in the cost of zabulon
and neptalim / to fulfyll that whych was spoken be Jhay the
prophet/sayinge: the londe of zabulon and neptalim/ the was
ye of the see beyond iordan/galile of the gentyls / the people
whyche satt in dercknes/sawe great lyght/And to them which
satt in the region and shadowe of deeth lyght is spronge.

¶ From that tyme Iesus began to preache/and to saye: Re-
pent/for the kyngedome of heven ys at hande.

¶ As Iesus walked by the see of galile/he sawe two brethren. Mar. i
Symon whyche was called Peter/and Andrew hys brother/
castyng a nett in to the see (ffor they were fysshers) and he
sayd vnto them / folowe me / and I wyll make you fysshers
of men. And they streyght waye lestt there nett/and folowed
hym.

¶ And he went southe from thence /and sawe other two bre-
thren / James the sonne of zebede/ and Jhon his brother in

the shyppe/with Zebede their father /mendinge there netts/
and called them. And they with out taryunge left the shyppe
and there father and folowed hym.

¶ And Iesus wet about all galile/teachynge in there synago-
ges/ and preachynge the gospell of the kyngdom/and healyn-
ge all manner of syctnes /and all māner diseases amonge the
people. And hys fame spred a broade through out all siria.
And they brought vnto hym all sicke people/that were taken
with dyvers diseases and gryppynge/and them that were pos-
sessed with devylls/and those which were lunaticke/and tho-
se that had the palsy: And he healed the. And there folowed
him a greate noumber of people/ from galile/ and from the ten
cetes/and from ierusalem /and from iury/and from the re-
gions that lye beyond iordan.

* Erth.

The worlde thi-
kethe too possesse
the erthe/and to
defend there aw-
ne/when they vse
violence & power:
but christ teache/
th that the worlde
musste be possessed
with mekenes on-
ly/ and with oute
power and viole-
nce.

The fyfth Chapter.

Zu. vi.



¶ When he saue the people/ he
went vp into a mountaine/and wen he was sett/
hys disciples cam vnto him / and he opened his
mouth/and taught them sayinge: Blessed are the
povre in spiete: for theirs is the kyngdom of heven. Blessed
are they that moune: for they shalbe comforted. Blessed are
the meke: for they shall inheret * the erthe. Blessed are they
which hūger and thurst for rightewesnes: for they shalbe syl-
led. Blessed are the mercifull: for they shall obteyne mercy.
Blessed are the pure in hert: for they shall se god. Bless-
ed are the maynteyners of peace: for they shalbe called
the chyldren of god. Blessed are they which suffre persecucion
for rightewesnes sake: for theirs is the kyngdom of heven.
Blessed are ye whē mens hall revyle you/and persecute you/
and shal falsly saye all manner of evle sayings agaynst you
for my sake. Reioyce and be gladd/for greate is youre rewar-
de in heven. For so persecuted they the prophetts which were
before youre dayes.

All these dedes
here rehearsed as
to norrishe peace/
to shewe mercy/
to suffre psecutio/
and so forth/ma-
ke not a man ha-
pye and blessed/
nether deserve t/
he rewarde of he-
ven: but declare
and testifie that
we are happy and
blessede and that
we shall have gr-
eate pmoçio i he-
ven. and certify/
eth vs i oure her-
tes that we are
goddess sonnes/ &
that the holy go-
ost is in vs. for all
good thynges are
geven to vs frely
of god for christes
blouddes sake and
his merittes

9

The gospel.

Salt.
 whē the pachers
 ceasse too preache
 godd's worde/ the
 muste they nedes
 be oppressed & tr/
 od vnder fore w/
 ith mannes trad/
 cions.

*** Jott.**
 Is as moche too
 sale as the leest let
 ter. for so is the le
 est letter that the
 grekes or the he/
 bres haue called

Breakith
 This do they w/
 hich saye that the
 se Chylde comā/
 dment are not cō
 maundment/ but
 counsailes.

*** The leest**
 That is to saye.
 I shall be little set by
 and despised.

Sicate
 That is / I shall be
 moche sett by / &
 had in reverence.
 The goodnes of
 the pharisaies / stō
 dith in ovtwarde
 work & appiera/
 unce: but Chylte
 requyret the good
 nes of the herte.

*** Racha.**
 Is the whoarce
 loude in the thio/
 ate & betokeneth
 all signes of wr/
 atch

CYe are the salt of the erthe. but as yf the salte be once vnfa
 very/ what can be salted there with: it is thence for the good
 for nothyng / but to be cast out at the doores/ and that men
 treade it vnder fete. Ye are the light of the worlde. A cite
 that is sett on an hill cannot be hyd/ nether do men light a cā
 dle and put it vnder a busshell/ but on a candelsyce/ and it
 lighteth all those which are in the housse. Set that youre light
 so schyne before men/ that they maye se youre good werk/ and
 gloryfie youre father/ which is in heven.

CYe shall not thynke / that y am come to disanull the lawe
 or the prophet: no y am not come to dysanull them/ but
 to fulfill them. For truly y say vnto you/ tyll heven and erthe
 peryssh/ one * Jott/ or one tyle of the lawe shall not scape/
 tyll all be fulfilled.

CWhosoever breaketh one of these leest commaundment/
 and shall teche men so/ he shall be called the * leest in the kyn
 gdom of heven. But whosoever shall observe and teache
 them/ that persone shall be called * greate in the kyngdom of
 heven.

CFor I say vnto you except youre rightewesnes excede/ the Ero. xx.
 rightewesnes of the scribes and pharyses/ ye cannot entre in .x.iiij.
 to the kyngdom of heven.

CYe have herde howe it was sayd vnto them of the olde tyme. Lc. xxiij.
 Thou shalt not kyll. Whosoever shall kyll / shall be in da
 unger of iudgement. But I say vnto you / whosoever ys an
 gre wih his brother / shall be in daunger of iudgement. Whos
 soever shall say vnto his brother * racha / shall be in daunger of
 a counsell. But whosoever shall say vnto his brother thou so
 le / shall be in daunger of hell fyre. Therefore whē thou offerest
 thy gyfte at the altre/ and thereremembrest that thy brother
 hath eny thyng agaynst the: leue there thyne offryng be
 fore the altre/ and go thy waye fyrst and reconyle thy self to
 thy brother / and then come and offre thy gyfte.

CAgre with thine aduersary at once/ whyles thou arte in the
 waye with hym/ lest thine aduersary deliure the to the iudge/

Ero. xx. and the iudge delyveth the to the minister/and thē thou be cast into prison. I say vnto the verely: thou shalt not come out thence tyll thou have payed the vtmoost forthynge.

¶ Ye have herde howe yt was sayde to them of olde tyme/ thou shalt not commytt advourtrie. But I say vnto you/that who soever eyeth a wyse/lustyng after her/hathe commytted advourtrie with her alreedy in his hert.

¶ Wherefore ys thy right eye offende the/* plucke hym out and caste him from the/Better hit is for the /that one of thy membres peryssheth then that thy whole body shuld be caste in to hell. Also ys thy right honde offend the/ cutt hym of and caste hym from the. Better hit is that one of thy membres perissheth/ then that all thy body shulde / be caste in to hell.

¶ Bitys sayd/whosoever put awaye his wyse / let hym geve her a testymonyall of her divorcement. But I say vnto you: whosoever put awaye hys wyse (except hit be for fornicacion) causeth her to breake matrimony/ And whosoever maryeth her that is divorced/breaketh wedlocke.

¶ Agayne ye have herde/ howe it was said to them of olde tyme/ thou shalt not forswere thy silfe/ but shalt performe thine othe to god. But I saye vnto you/ Swere not at all: neither by heaven/ for hit ys goddes seate: nor yet by the erth / for it is hys fote stole: Neither by Jerusalem/ for it is the cite of the greate kynge: Neither shalt thou swere by thy heed/ because thou canst not make one heer whyte/ or blacke: But youre comunicacion shalbe/ ye/ ye: nay/ nay. For what soever is more then that/ commeth of evle.

¶ Ye have herde howe it is sayd/ an eye for an eye: a tothe for a tothe. But I say vnto you/ that ye with stond not* wrōge: But ys a man geve the a blowe on thy right cheke/ turne to hym the othre. And ys eny man wyll sue the at the lawe/ and take thi coote from the/ lett hym have thi clooke also. And whosoever wyll compell the to goo a myle/ goo wyth hym twayne. Geve to him that axeth: and from him that wolde borrowe turne not away.

* Plucke
To plucke oure
spiritually is he
re commaunded/
that is when the
yes luste is put as
waic and kyllid in
the hert.

Swear.
All swearynge &
othes which a mā
of him silfe doith/
are here forbyde/
never thelesse whē
love / neade / thy
neghbours proffyt
te / or goddys hono
oure requyrith by
it/ then is hit well
done too swears.
like as wrath for
bydden is/ & yet is
lawdable whē hit
proceedith of love
to honour god
with all.

No* man shuld a
venge hym silfe/
or seke wreake/ no
nott by the lawe:
butt the ruler wh
ich hath the sw
earde shuld do su
ch thyngs of hym
silfe/ or when the
negbours off love
warne hym/ and
requyre hym.

The gospel

The have herde howe it is saide: thou shalt love thyne neighbour/and hate thyne enemy. But y saye vnto you/love youre enemies. Blesse them that curssse you. Doo good to them that hate you/Praye for them which doo you wronge/and persecute you/that ye maye be the chyl dren of youre hevenly father: for he maketh his sunne to aryse /on the evle/and on the good/and sendeth his reyne on the iuste and on the oniuiste. For if ye shall love them/which love you: what rewarde shall ye have? Doo not the * publicāns even so? And if ye be frendly to your brethē only: what singuler thyng doo ye? Doo nott the publicans lyke wyse? Ye shall therfore be perfecte/cuē as youre hevenly father is perfecte.

*Publicans gad/dred rentes/ toll/ custume/ & tribute for the romans/ & were comely bet/ hen men ther vnto appoited of the romans.

The Byet Chapter



Take hede to youre almes. ^{Math. xiii.} **th**at ye geve it nor in the syght of men/to the intent that ye wolde be sene of them. Or ellſ ye gett no rewarde of youre father in heven. When soever therfore thou gevest thyne almes/thou shalt not make a trompet to be blown before the / as the ypocryttſ do in the synagoggs / and in the streetſ/for to be prayſed of mē. Veryly I say vnto you/they have there rewarde. But whē thou doest thyne almes/lett not thy lyſte hād knowe/what thy right hond doth/that thyne almes maye be ſecrete/and thy father which ſeith iſecrete/shall rewarde the openly.

And when thou prayest/thou shalt nott be as the ypocryttſ are. For they love to ſtand and praye in the ſynagoggs/and in corners of the ſtreetſ/be cauſe they wolde be ſene of mē. Verely I ſaye vnto you they haue there rewarde. But whē thou prayeſt/entre into thi chamber/and ſhutt thi dore to the /and praye to thi father which ys in ſecrete: and thi father which ſeith in ſecrete/shall *rewarde the openly.

* Rewarde.
ye ſhall nott thyk/ ne/that oure ded//

But when ye praye/babble not moche/as the gentyls do: for they thinke that they ſhalbe herde/for there moche bab

blongſſake. Be ye not lyke them there ſon. For youre father knoweth wherof ye have neede / before ye aſke of him. After this maner therefore praye ye.

- Zuc. xi.** ¶ Oure father / which art in heven halowed be thy name. Let thy kyngdom come. Thy wyll be fulfilled / as well in erth / as hit ys in heven. Geve vs this daye oure dayly breade. And forgeve vs oure treaſpaſes / even as we forgeve them which treaſpaſe vs. Lede vs nott in to temptacion. but delyvre vs from yvell / Amen. For and yf ye ſhall forgeve other men theſe retreaſpaſes / youre father in heve ſhall alſo forgeve you. But and ye will nott forgeve men there treaſpaſes / no more ſhall /
- Barth. xviii.** your father forgeve you theſe treaſpaſes
- mar. xi.**

¶ Moreover when ye faſte / be not ſad as the ypocrytt are. For thy diſfigure there faces / that hit myght appere vnto me that they faſte. Verely ſay vnto you / they haue there reward. But thou when thou faſteſt / annoynt thyne heed / and waſhe thy face / that it appere not vnto men howe that thou faſteſt : but vnto thy father which ys in ſecrete : and thy father which ſeyth in ſecrete / ſhall reward the openly.

- Zu. xii.** ¶ Gaddre not treaſure to gather on erth / where ruſte and moethes corrupte / and where theves breake through and ſteale. But gaddre ye treaſure to gyddre in heven / where neither ruſte / ner yet moethes corrupte : and where theves neither breake vppre / ner yet ſteale. For wherſoever youre treaſure ys / there are youre hertt alſo

- Zuc. xi.** ¶ The light of thy body is thyne eye. Wherefore if thyne eye be ſynge / all thy body ys full of light. But and yf thyne eye be wycked / then is all thy boddy full of dercknes. Wherefore yf the light that ys in the be dercknes : howe greate ys that dercknes?

- Zu. xvi.** ¶ No man can ſerve two maſters. For other he ſhall hate the one / and love the other : or els he ſhall lene to the one / and deſpiſe the other. Ye cannot ſerve god and māmon. There fore ye ſaye vnto you / be not carefull for youre lyfe what ye ſhall care / or what ye ſhall dryncke / nor yet for youre boddy / what

- Zu. xii.** raymēt ye ſhall weare. Ys not the lyfe more worth then meate : and the boddy moare of value then rayment? Beholde

es deſerve any thing of god as a labourer deſerueth his hyre. For all good thynges come of the bounte / uſnes / liberalite / mercy / promyſes / & trewth of god bi the deſeruinge of Chriſt bloud only but it ys a maner of ſpekinge. as we ſaye (thy labour or going was well rewarded) vnto hi that hath but ſett only the promyſes of a nodye man.

*Synge. The eye iſ ſynge when a man i all his dedes loketh butt on the wil of god / & loketh nort for laude / honour or eni other reward in this worlde. neither aſcrybeth heven or a hyer roume i heve vnto his dedes : but as a thig purchaſed bi the bloud of Chriſte / & wor / keth frely for loſ / ves ſake only.

The Gospell of

the soules of the aier: for they sowe not nether reepe / nor yet cary into the barnes / and yett your heavenly father sedeth the. Are ye nott better then they ?

¶ Whiche of you (though he toke thought there fore) coulde put one cubit vnto his stature ? And why care ye then for rayment? Be holde the lyles of the felde / howe they growe / They labour nott / nether spyn. And yet for all that I saye vnto you / that even Solomon in all his royaltie / was not arayed lyke vnto one of these. Wherfore yf god so clothe the grasse / which ys to daye in the felde / & to morowe shalbe cast into the founnace: shall he not moche more do the same vnto you / o ye of litle fayth? Co. ix.

* Founnace.
Then heere there
founnaces & ovens
with suche thyngs
yes in those coun-
treys.

¶ Therefore take no thought sayinge: what shall we eate / or what shall we drynke / or where with shall we be clothed ? (As for all these thyngs seke the gentyls) For your heavenly father knoweth that ye haue neede of all these thyngs. But rather seke ye first the kyngdome of heuē / & the rightewesnes there of / and all these thinges shalbe ministred vnto you. Care nott therefore for the daye solowynge. For the daye solowynge shall care for it selfe. Eche dayes *trouble ys sufficient for the same selfe daye.

* Trouble / is the
dayly labour. he
wil hit be ynough
that we labour
dayly wryth our
further care.

The viij. Chapter.

Too Judge or co-
dem / belongith to
god only / therfore
who somer iud-
geth with oute
goods comaund-
ment / takith gods
des honoure fro
him / & that is the
beame in the eye



Wdgeth nott lest ye be iudged. Luc. vi.

For as ye iudge / so shall ye be iudged. And with what measure ye mete. with that same shall it be measured to you agayne. Why seist thou a moore in thy brothers eye / and perceavest nott the beame that ys in thine awne eye? Or why saist thou to thy brother / suffre me to plucke out a moore out of thyne eye / And behold the beame is in thine awne eye. Ypocrite / first cast out the beame out of thyne awne eye / and then shalt thou se clerely to plucke out the moore out of thy brothers eye.

* Holye.
The holye thynges

¶ Geve nott that which is * holy to dogges / nether cast ye

your pierles before swyne lest they treade them vnder the
ir fete / and the other turne agayne and all to rent you.

are the woorde of
god / that sanctifi-
eth all thinges.

Lu. xi. ¶ And hit shalbe geuen you : Seke and ye shall fynde /
Jaco. i. knocke and it shalbe opened vnto you . For whosoever axeth
den. iij. receaueh / and he that sekerh syndeth / and to him that knoc-
kerh / it shalbe opened . Ys there eny man a monge you which
wolde proffer his sonne a stone if he axed hym breed : or if he
axed fyshe / wolde he proffer him a serpent : Yf yethen which
are evle / can geve to youre chyldren good gystes : howe moche
more shall youre father / whych is in heve / geve good thinges /
Lu. vi. to them that axe of hym :

Doggs / are the p
secuters of the
woorde .

* Swyne / are they
ey which are drow-
ned in fleshy lu-
ste & despise the
woorde

¶ Therefore what soever ye wolde that men shulde do to
you / even so do ye to them. Thys is the lawe and the pro-
phettis .

Lu. xij. ¶ Entre in att the straite yate : for wyde is the yate / and
broade ys the waye that leadeth to destruccion : and many
there be / whych goin there at . For straite is the yate / and
narwe is the waie / which leadeth vnto life : and fewe the-
re be / that fynde itt .

mar. viij ¶ Be ware of falce prophettis / which come to you / in she-
Lu. xij. pes clothynge / but inwardly they are ravenynge wolves .
Lu. vi. Ye shall knowe them by there frutes . So men gaddre gras-
pes of thornes : or seggs of bryeres : Even so every good tree /
bryngeth forth good frute . But a corrupte tree / bringeth for-
the evyll frute . A good tree cannot bringe forth badde frute :
ner yet a badde tree can bringe forth good frute . Every tree /
that bringeth not forth good frute / shalbe hewen downe / and
cast in to the fyre . Wherefore by there frutes ye shall knowe
them . Nott all they that saye vnto me / master / master / shall
entre in to the kyngdom of heven : But he that fulfilleth
my fathers wyll which is in heven . Many wyll saye to
me in that daye / master / master / have we not in thy name
prophesied : and yn thy name have we nott cast out devylls :
and in thy name have we nott done many myracles :
And then wyll I knowlegge vnto them / that I never knewe
we them . Departe from me / ye workers of iniquite .

The Gospell of

* The same.

Here Christe requirith faith/for where as re faith is not there is not the comau/dment fulfilled: Ro. iiij. And all goode workes after ovrwarde apperaunce with ovr faith ar syn: contrarie wyle where faith is/the re must the vear goode werkes folowe. Christe callith here/dolge: too doo with a pure herte. Actu. xv. And southe goodnes stöðst fast agaisst all windes / that is too saye agaynst al the powre of hel/for he is bilt on the rocke of Christe / thooowe faith.

* In wirnes. 20/ ses callith the lawe a wytnes vnto the people. deur. xxi. for the lawe aculsthy vnto is a testimonie agaynst oure syn. lyke wyle here/ys the prestes bare recoide that Christe hadde clensthy this leper/ yet beleuyd not/the testified they agaisst themselves.

* wilt

* Faithe knoweth not 2 trusteth i the favour and goodnes of god

Whosoever heareth of me these sayings/ and dothe the same/ I wyll lycken him vnto a wise man/ whych bilt his housse on a rocke: and aboundaunce of rayne descended / and the fludds cam/ and the wynddys blew/ and bett vppon that same housse / and it was not over throwen because it was grounded on the rocke. And whosoever heareth of me these sayings/ and doth not the same/ shalbe lykened vnto a folysh man: whych bilt his housse apon the sonde / and aboundaunce of rayne descended / and the fludds cam/ and the wynddys blew/ and bett vppon that house/ and it was over throwe/ and great was the fall of it.

And it cam to passe / that when Iesus had ended these sayings/ the people were astonied at his doctryne. For he taught them as one havyng power/ and nott as the scribes/

Luce. xiii.

Luce. vi.

Mat. i.

Luce. xiii.

The viij. Chapter.



When Iesus was come downe from the mountayne / moche people followed him. And lo/there cam a lepre / and worshped him saynge: master/ if thou wilt/ thou canst make me cleane. He putt forth his hand and tewed him saynge: I wyll/ be cleane/ and immediatly his leprosy was clesed. And Iesus said vnto him. See thou tell no man/ but go and shewe thy self to the preste and offer the gyfte/ that moyses comaunded to be offred in witnes to them.

When Iesus was entred into capernaum/ there cam vnto him a certayne Centurion/ besechynge him/ and saynge: master/ my servaunt lyeth sicke att home of the palsye/ and is grievously payned. And Iesus seyde vnto him: I will come and cure him. The Centurion answered and sayde: Syr/ I am not worthy/ that thou shuldest come vnder the rofe of my housse/ but speake the worde only/ and my servaunt shalbe healed. For also my selfe am a mā vnder power/ and have soweddeer vnto dre me/ and y sayeto one/ go/ and he goeth: and to an othere/

Mat. i.

Luce. v.

come/and he cometh:and to my seruante/do this/and he doth hit. When Iesus herde these sayngs: He marueyled / and said to them that folowed him: Verely I sey vnto you/ I haue nott foudē so great sayth: no/ not i ysraell. I say there fore vnto you / that many shal come from the east and weest / and shall rest with Abraham/ Isaac/ and Jacob / in the kyngedome of heven: and the childre of the kyngdome shalbe cast out in to the vtmost derknes / there shalbe wepige and gnasshing of tethe. Then Iesus sayd vnto the Centurion/ go thi waye / and as thou hast beleued so be it vnto the. And his seruante was healed that same houre.

Mar. i And Iesus went into peters housse/and sawe his wyves
Luc. iiii mother linge sicke of a ferre / and he touched her hande/ and the ferre leest her: and she arose/ and ministred vnto them.

¶ When the even was come they brought vnto him many that were possessed with devylls/ and he cast out the spirites with a worde/ and healed all that were sicke/ to fulfill that which was spoken by Esay the prophet (sainge: he toke on him oure infirmytes/ and bare oure sicknesses.

Luc. ix ¶ When Iesus sawe moche people about him/ he commaunded to go over the water. And there cam a scribe and sayd vnto him: master / I woll folowe the whyther summever thou goest. And Iesus said vnto him: the foxes have holes/ and the bryddes of the aier have nestes/ but the sonne of the man hath not where on to leye hys heed/ Anothre that was one of hys disciples seyde vnto him: master suffre me fyrst / to go and *burie my fater. But Iesus said vnto him: folowe me / and let the deed burye their deed.

Mar. iij ¶ And he entred i to a shyppe/ and his disciples folowed him/
Luc. viij And lo there arose a greate storme in the see/ in somoche / that the shyppe was hyd with waves/ and he was a slepe. And his disciples cam vnto him/ and awocke him/ sayinge: master/ save vs/ we perishe. And he said vnto them: why are ye fearfull/ o ye endewed with lytel faith? Then he arose / and rebuked the wyndes and the see / and there folowed a greate calme. And men marueyled and said: what man is this/ that bothe wyndes and see obey him?

Centurion.
Is a captayne of an
E. me/whom I call
som tyme a ceturi/
on/ but for the moost
parte an vnder cap/
tayne

* burie
Some pretend good
de werke because
they wolde not folo
we Christe & bele
ve: but Christe sig
nifieth/ that such
workes are deed and
loost.

The Gospell of

And whē he was come to the other syde / into the countre of ^{mar. vi.} the gregesens / there met him two possessed of devylls / which ^{Lu. viij.} cam out of the graves / and were out of measure ferece / so that no man myght go by that waye. And lo they cryed out saynge: O iesu the sonne of god / what have we to do with the? art thou come hyther to tormēt vs before the tyme be come? There was a good waye of from them a greate heerd of swyne feedinge. Then the devylls besought him saynge: if thou cast us out / suffre vs to go oure waye into the heerd of swyne. And he said vnto them: go youre wayes. Then went they out / and departed into heerd of swyne. And lo / all the heerd of swyne was caryed with violēce hedlinge ito the see / & perished in the water. The heerd mē / fled & wēt there ways ito the cite / & tolde every thinge / and what had fortuned vnto the that were possessed of the devylls. And lo / all the cite cā out / and met Iesus. And whē they sawe him they besought him / to departe out of there costis.

The ix. Chapter.

This cite was
capernaum.



And he entred into the shippe: ^{Mat. ij} and passed over and cam in to his awne cite. And ^{Luc. v} lo / they brought vnto him a man sicke of the palsey / lyinge in his bed. And when Iesus sawe there faith / he said to the secke of the palsey: sonne be of good cheere / thy synnes are foryeven the. And lo certeyne of the scribes said in them selves / he blasphemeth. And whē Iesus sawe there thoughtes / he sayd: wherfore thinke ye evyll in youre hertis? Whether ys esyer to saye / thi synnes ar foryeven the / or to saye: a ryse and walke? That ye maye knowe / that the sonne of man hath power to foryeve synnes in earth / the said he vnto the sicke of the palsey: a ryse / take vppe thi bed / and go home to thynne housse. And he arose and departed to his housse. The people that sawe hit / marveylled and glorified god / which had geven suche power to men.

Mat. ii And as Iesus passed forth from thence he sawe
Luce. v a man sytt at the receyve of custume named Ma-
 thew / and said to him : folowe me. And he arose
 & folowed him. And hit cā to passe / that iesus satt
 at meate i his housse. And lo / many publicāns and
 synners / cam and satt downe also with Iesus / and
 his disciples. When the pharyses had perceaved
 that / they said vnto his disciples : why eateth youre
 master with publicans and synners : When Iesus
 herd hat / he said vnto them : the whole neade nott
 the vsycious / butt they that are sicke. Go and lerne /
Mat. vi what that meaneth / I haue pleasure in mercy / and
 nott in offerynge. For I am nott come to call the
 rightewes / but synners to repentance.

Mat. ii Then cam the disciples of Ihon to him / sayinge :
Luce. v why do we and the pharises faste ofte / butt thi dis-
 ciples faste nott : And Iesus sayde vnto them : can
 the weddyngge chyldren **S** morne as slonge as the
 brydegrome ys with them : The tyme will cū / when
 the brydegrome shal betaken from them / and then
 shall they faste. No man **x** pecyth an olde garment
 with a pece of newe cloth. For thē taketh he a wa-
 ye the pece ageyne from the garment / and the rent
 is made worffe. Nether do men putt newe wyne /
 into olde vessell : for thē the vessell breake / and the
 wyne runneth out / and the vessell perishe. But they
 powre newe wyne in to newe vessell / and so are
 bothe saved togyther.

Mat. v Whyll she thus spake vnto them / lo / there cam a
Luce. viij certayne ruler / and worshipped him sayinge :
 my doughter ys deed all reddy / butt come / and ley
 thy hand on her / and she shall live. And Iesus aro-
 se & folowed him / with his disciples. and beholde / a
 wo mā which was diseased with an yssue of blood.
 xii. yerres / cam behynde him and touchēd the hem
 of his vesture. For she said in her sylfe. If yma :

x **2** Some That is too sus-
 fire payne. There is paynetij
 manuer awayes. cone waye
 of a mannes awne choyse ad
 electio / as is the mōk rules /
 and as baals priest puckyd
 thē selves. iij. regū. xviij. suche
 paine doth al the woulde / the
 pharisaies / ye & Ihonē disci-
 ples esteeme greare : butt god
 despiseth hit. An other wa-
 es is there payne / to deynyng
 of god with our oure elec-
 cio as shame / rebuke / wro-
 ge / deeth. suche too suffre pa-
 ciently and with good will / is
 the ryght crosse and pleaseth
 god well. So Christ disci-
 ples faste nott / butt are mery
 att the mariage / whyle the
 bryde grme is yett with thē /
 ad defendeth them / ye & god
 had yett ordeyned no troubs-
 le for them / they sayne them
 sylfe no paine / for itt pleaseth
 not god / they must faste af-
 ter Christ deth & suffre pay-
 ne of godd hand and ordeyn-
 naunce. So now whatsoeuer
 a man taketh on hym by hys
 awne eleccio / that is repio-
 ved / ye & where Christ she-
 with hym sylfe frenoly as a
 bryde grome / there muste
 nedes be amery herte.
S Pecyth. with these wo-
 ros Christ dryveth them fro
 hym as them which vnder-

The gospel of

stode not his lerni-
ge/as cōcernige the
libertie of his disci-
ples/and sayth: No
man mendith an ol-
de garmēt with new
we clothe/for the ol-
de holdith not the
stiche/as who saith
suche spirituall new
we lernynge cannot
be cōprehēdyd with
olde fleschly hertys.
pache to fleschly peo-
ple and they were
worse/as we se whē
hen spirituall liber-
tie is packēd/the fle
she drawith hit vnto
to carnall luste.

ye touche but evēhys vesture only yf halbe safe. Jesus turned
him aboute/and behelde her/sayinge:doughter be of good cō-
forte/thy faith hath made the safe.And she was made whole
even that same houre.

¶ And when iesus cam into the rulers housse / and sawe
the minstrells/and the people wondrynge/he sayd vnto them:
gett you hence/for the mayde ys nōt deed/but slepeth. And
they leugh him to scorne. As soone as the people were putt
forth a dore/ he went in and toke her by the hōde / and the
mayde arose. And this was noysed througħ out all that lōde.

¶ And as iesus departed thence/two blynde mē folowed him ^{Mar.}
cryngē / and sayngē: O thou sonne of dauid/have mercy on ^{vii.}
vs. And whē he was come in to the housse/the blynde cam to
him. And iesus said vnto them beleve ye that y am able to do
thys: they said vnto him ye master. Then touchēd he there
eyes sayngē: accordinge to youre faith be hit vnto you. And
there eyes wer opened. And he charged them/sayngē: se that
no man knowe of it. But they as sonne as they wer departed/
spred a broadē his name througħ out all that lōde.

¶ As they went out/beholde / they brought to him a dōm mā ^{Luc. x.}
possessyd of a devyll. And as soone as the devyll was cast out/
the dōm spake. And the people marveylled/ sayngē: it never
so apiered in israhel. But the pharyses said: he casteth out de-
vylls/be the power of the chiefe devyll.

¶ And Jesus went about all the cītes and townes / teachnige
in there synagoggs/and preachinge the gospel of the kyngdō.
And healinge all māner sycknes and disease amonge the peo-
ple. But whē he sawe the people/he had pitte on thē / be cau-
se they were pyned awaye/and scattred abroadē even as she-
pe/havinge no shepherde. Then said he to his disciples: the
harvest ys greate/but the labourers ar fewe. Wherefore pra-
yse the harvest lorde/to send forth labourers in to his hervest.

* The hervest are
the people redy to
receyve the evāgelio/
and the laborers are
the true preachers.



The x Chapter.

And he called his xij. disciples

vn to him/ and gave them power agaynst vnclē- ^{Mar.}
vi.

ne spyrites/ to cast them out/ and to heale all manner of sick-
nesses / and all manner of diseases.

Lu.vi. ¶ The names of the xij. apostles are these. The first Simon
which is called peter: and Andrew his brother. James the
sonne of Zebede/ and Jho his brother. Phillippe and Bartle-
mewe. Thomas and Mathew the publican. James the sonne
of alphe and Lebbeus/ otherwise called Thaddeus. Simon of
chane/ and Judas iscarioth/ which also betrayed him.

Lu.ix. ¶ These xij. sent Jesus/ and commaunded them sayinge. Goo
nott in to the wayes that leade to the gentyle / and in to the
cites of the sameritans entre ye nott: But go rather vnto the
loost shepe of the housse of israhel. Goo and preache saynge: hos-
we the kyngdom of heven ys att honde. Heale the sicke/ clen-
se the lypers/ reyse the deed/ cast out the devylls. Frely ye ha-
ve receaved/ frely geve ageyne. Posses nott golde/ nor syl-
ver/ nether brasie in youre gerdles/ nor yet scrippes toward men-
they have as
your iorney. Nether two coats/ nether shues / nor yet a well brasen moneye
rodde: For the workman ys worthy to have hys meate. In
to what summever cite / or towne ye shall come / inquire who
is worthy in it / and there abyde tyll ye go from thence.

Luc.x. ¶ And whē ye come in to a housse grete the same. And yf the
houss be worthy/ youre peace shall come vppō the same. But
if it be nott worthy/ youre peace shall returne to you agayne.
And whosoever shall nott receave you/ nor wyll heare youre
preachinge/ when ye departe out of that housse/ or that cite/
shake of the * duste of youre fete. Truly y saye vnto you / he
shalbe easyer for the londe of zodoma/ and gommorra / in the
daye of iudgement/ them for that cite.

¶ Lo/ y sende you forth/ as shepe amonge wolves. Be ye ther-
fore wyse as serpentys / and innocent as doves. Be ware of
mē/ for they shall delyvre you vppe to the counsaills / and shall
schourge you in there synagoggs. And ye shalbe brought to
the heed rulers and kyngs for my sake/ in witnes to them and
to the gentyls.

¶ But when they put you vp take no thought / howe / or
what ye shall speake/ for it shalbe geuyn you even in that same
houre/ what ye shall saye. For it is nott ye that speake / but the

c iiij

* Duste
That is/ se that ye
take noo thinge of
thē/ in so moche th-
at ye shake of the
very duste from yo-
ure shues/ that th-
ey maie knowe ho-
we ye sought not vo-
we awne profit:
but there helth

The Gospell. of

spirite of youre father whych speaketh in yon. The brother shall betraye the brother to deethe/and the father the sonne. And the chyldren shall aryse ageynst there fathers / and mothers/and shall putt them to deeth/and ye shalbe hated off all men/for my name. But whosoever shall contynue unto the ende/shalbe saved.

¶ When they persecute you in wone cite/ flye in to another.

* fynyshe.
That ys / ye shall
nott haue cōverted
or preached.

I tell you for a treuth/ye shall nott * fynyshe all the cires of Iuda. xv
israhel/tyll the sonne of man be come. The disciple ys nott as
bove his master: Nor yet the servaunt above his lord. It is
ynough for the disciple to be as hys master ys / and that the
servaunt be as his lord ys. Yf they have called the lord off
the housse beelzebub: howe moche more shall they call them
of his hous holde so: feare them nott there fore.

¶ There is no thinge so close/that shall nott be openned / and
no thinge so hid/that shall nott be knowen.

That ys to sey op/
enly / where every
mā maye here.

¶ What I tell you i dercknes/that speake ye i lyght. and what
ye heare in the care that preache ye on the housse toppes.

¶ And feare ye nott them which fyll the body / and be nott
able to fyll the soule. But rather feare him / which is able to
destroie bothe soule and body in hell. Are not two sparowes
solde for a farthinge? And none of them dothe lyght on the
grounde/with out youre father. And nowe are all the heerf
of youre heed numbred. feare ye not therfore. ye are of mo-
re value/then many sparowes.

¶ Whosoever therfore knowlegeth me before men/him wyll ^{mar. viii.}
I knowlegge before my father in heve. But whosoever shall ^{Luce. ix.}
denye me before men/him will I also denye before my father
which ys in heven.

¶ Thynk nott/that y am come to sende peace in to the erth. ^{Luce. xij}
I am nott to send peace / but a swerde. For y am come to
sett a man att varyaunce ageynst his father / and the doughter
ageynst her mother / and the doughterelawe ageinst her
motherelawe: And a mannes foes shalbe / they of his owne
housholde.

¶ He that loveth his father/or mother more then me / ys nott
worthy of me. And he that loveth his soñe/or donoghter mo- ^{Luce. xiiij}

re then me/is nott mete for me. And he that taketh nott hys
crosse and foloweth me/is nott mete for me. **H**et hat syndeih
hys lyfe/shall lose it: and he that losith his lyfe for my sake/
shall synde it.

Bar. ix. **Luc. x** **¶** **H**et hat receavith you / receavith me: and he that recea=
vith me/receavith him that sent me. **H**et hat receavith a pro=
phet * in the name of a prophet/shall receive a prophet's re=
warde. And he that receavith a righteous mā in the name of a
ryghteous mā/shall receive the reward of a righteous mā.
And whosoever shall give vnto won of theselyte wōnes to/
drinke a cuppe of colde **¶** water only/in the name of a disci=
ple: I tell you of a trueth/he shall nott lose hys reward.

* In the name of a
prophet/a right w/
es man/or a discip=
le. that ys to sey/in
that he perreyneh
to god 2 to Christ.

* water. Compare
dede to dede/so ys
one greater then a/
nother: but cōpare
them to god/so are
they all lyke/ad one
as good as another.
even as the spyrite
movyth a mā / 2 ry
me 2 occasiō gevyth
shurten 2 offeded
thorow ourte all the
newe testamēt vero
keneth to decaye 2
faule in the sayth.
for māy whē thei sa/
we that Christ w/
as but a carpentars
sōe as thei suppo/
sed / 2 he hym selfe
also a carpēter / 2 his
moder / 2 kynē of so
lowe degre. moreo/
ver when they sa //
we him put to so vy
le a deeth / fell clene
frō the faith / 2 cou/
lde not beleve.

The xi. Chapter.

Luc. viij



¶ **A**d it cam to passe when Je=
sus had ended his preceptz vnto his disciples/he

departed thēce/to preache and teache i there cites.

¶ **W**hen Jhon beinge in preson herde the work of christ/he
sent two of his disciples and sayde vnto him. **A**rte thou he
that shall come: or shall we loke for another. **J**esus answered
and sayde vnto them. **G**o and shewe Jhon what ye have her=
de and sene. **T**he bynd se/the hals goo/thelyppers ar clenfed:
The deef heare/the deed ar reysed vp ageine/and the gospel
is preached to the povre. And happy is he that is noot **¶**
hurte by me.

Esa. lxi

¶ **E**ven as they departed / **J**esus began to speake vnto the
people of Jhon. **W**hat went ye for to se in the wyldernes:
wet ye out to se a rede waveringe with the wynde: oder what
went ye out for to se: went ye to se a man clothed in scofte ray=
ment: **B**eholde/they that weare scofte clothyng are in fynyng
houses. **B**ut what wēt ye out for to se: wēt ye out to se/a pro=
phet: **Y**e I saye vnto you/and more thē a prophet. **F**or: this is
he of whom it is wryttē. **B**eholde/ **I** sende my messenger before
thy face which shall prepare thy way before the.

Mal. iij.

¶ **V**erely I saye vnto you/ amōge the chyl dren of women ar o=
se there nott a gretter then Jhon baptist. **N**ot withston=

The Gospell of

Blesse.
Charis Chaste.

*** Violence**
when the consciences
perceave the gospel
they thrust in no
thyng can let them

To vpbraid is to
cast a man in the
teth.

dinge he that ys Blesse in the kyngdom of sheven/ys gretter Lu. xvi.
then he. From the tyme of Jho baptist hitherto / the kyngdo-
me of heven suffreth * violence/and they that make violence
pulleth it to them. For all the prophet/and the lawe pro-
phesied vnto the tyme of Jhon. Also yf ye wyll receave it/ Matth. xviij.
thys ys helyas / which shulde come. He that hathe eares to Mar.
heare whith all/lett him heare.

¶ But wheare vnto shall I lyken this generacino? it ys ly- ix.
ke vnto chyldre/which syt i the markett/ & call vnto there felo- Wala. iij.
wes/ & saye: we have pyped vnto you/ & ye have nott daised/ we Luc. vij
have morned vnto you/ and ye have nott sorowed. For Jhon
ca/ nether eatynge nor drynkynge / & they saye/ he hath the de-
vyll. The sonne of ma ca eatynge and drynkynge/ and they saye/
be holde a glutton/ and a drynker of wyne/ and a frende vnto
publicans / and synners. And wysdome ys iustified of her
chyldren.

¶ The bega he to vpbraid the cires/ i the whiche mooste of hys Luc. x.
myracles wer done/ be cause they dyd nott repēt. Wo be to the
chorasi. Wo be to the betzayda/ for yf the myracles which we-
re shewed i you/ had bene done i tyre and in sydo: they wolde
have repēted lōge agone i sacke cloth/ and i ashes. Neverthe-
lesse y saye vnto you/ it shalbe easyer for tyre & sydo/ at the daye
of iudgemēt/ then for you. And thou capernaū/ which arte lyst
vppe vnto heven/ shalt be thrust downe to hell. For yf the my-
racles which have bene done in the/ had bene shewed in zodo/
they had remayned to thys daye. Neverthelesse I say vnto
you/ that it shalbe easyer for zodom in the daye of iudgemēt/
then for the. Then Jesus answered and sayde. I prayse the o
father lorde of heven and erth / be cause thou hast hyd thease
things/ from the wyse and prudent/ and hast opened them vnto
babes / even so father/ for so it pleased the. All thyngs are
geven vnto me of my father/ And no man knoweth the sonne/
but the father nether knoweth eny mā the father/ save the son-
ne/ and he to whom the sonne wyll open him.

¶ Come vnto me all ye that labour/ and are lade/ and I wyll
ease yon. Take my yoke on you/ and lerne of me / for y am mee-
ke/ and lowly in herte: and ye shall fynde ease vnto y cure fou-

les for xmy yooke ys easy/and my burthen ys lyght.

The xii. Chapter.

*By yoke.
The crosse is ane/
asy thynge too them
thar perceave the
gospell.

Luc. vi.
i. Regū.
xii.



At that tyme: went Jesus on the sabot daye thorowe the corne / and his disciples wer anhungred / and began to plucke the eares of corne / and to ate. When the sarises had seen that / they sayde vnto him: Beholde thy disciples do that which ys not lawfull to do a pon the sabot daye. He sayde vnto them: Have ye nott rede what dauid dyd / when he was anhungred / and they also which were with him: Howe he entered into the housse of god / and ate the halowed loaves / which were nott lawfull for him to ate / nether for them which were with him / Butt only for the preestes. Or have ye nott rede in the lawe / howe that the preestes in the temple breake the sabot daye / and yet are blamlesse: But I saye vnto you / that here is wō greater then the temple. Wherfore ys ye had wist / what thys sayinge meaneth. I requyre mercy / and nott sacrifice / ye wolde never have condemned innocent. For the sonne of man ys lord even of the Sabot daye.

mar. iij.

¶ And he departed thence / and wentt in to there synagoge / and beholde / there was a mā / which had his hand dried vp / And they axed him sayinge : ys hit lawfull to heale vppon the saboth daye: he canse they myght accuse him. And he sayde vnto them: which ys he amonge you / ys he had a shepe fallen into a pyt on the sabot daye / that wolde nott take him and lyfte him out: And howe moche ys a man better then a shepe: Wherfore yt ys lesfull to do a good dede on the sabot daye. Then sayde he to the man: streche forth thy bonde / and he stretched forth / and it was agayne made even as whole as the other.

¶ Then the sarises went forth / and toke counsell agenste him / howe they myght distroye him. Whē Jesus knewe that he departed thence / and moche people folowed him / and he

f

¶ Sabboth.
The vnderstandin/
ge of all cōmaunds/
mēt fōde so great/
ly i love / that theve
ry cōmandmēt of
god binde not whe/
re love ad neade res/
quyre.

The gospel of

healed the all. and charged the that/they shulde not make him known/to fulfill that which was spoke by Esay the prophet/^{Esai. xliij.} which sayeth: Beholde my sonne/whom I have chosen/my darlinge/in whom my soule hath had delate. I wyll put my spirite on him/ and he shall shewe iudgement to the gentyls. He shall not stryve/he shall not crye/nether shall eny man heare his voyce in the street/a brosed rede / shall he not breacke/ & fere that begynneth to burne he shall not quēche/tyll he sende forth iudgement vnto victory / and in his name shall the gentyls truste.

¶ The was brought to hym/whon possessed with a devyll which was both blynde and dōm / and he healed him/in somoch that he which was blynd and dōm / both spake & sawe. And all the people were amased/and sayde: Ys not this the sōne of david? When the pharises herde that/ they sayde: he dryveth the devyls no nother wise oute/ but by the helpe off belsebub.^{Mat. xij.} the chefe of the devyll?

¶ But Iesus knewe there thought/and sayde to the. Every kynge dō devyded with in it sylfe shall be * desolate. Nether shall eny cite or housholde devyded agēst it sylfe/cōtynue. So yf sathan cast out sathan/then ys he devyded ayenst him sylfe. How shall the his kynge dō endure? Also if y by the helpe of belsebub cast out devyls: by whose helpe do youre chyldre cast them out/therfore they shalbe youre iudges: But if I cast out the devyls by the spirite of god: them is the kynge dōm of god come on you?

* Desolate.
That ys wasted/
destroyed/ & brought
ht to nought.

¶ Goost.
Synne agēst the
holy goost/ys desp/
isynge of the gospel
and his workyng.
where that by deth/
is no remedy of syn.
for it fyghteth agēst
fayth/which ys
the foryevener of
synne. yf that be put
away/fayth maye
entre yn/and all syn-
nes departe.

* where Sathew
sayeth here nether

¶ Other howe cā a mā entre in to a myghty mannes housse/
and vyolently take a waye his goodds/except he fyrst byn-
de the stronge mā/ and then spoyle his housse? He that is not
with me/is ayenst me: And he that gadreth not with me/
scattreth abroad. Wherefore I saye unto you/all māer of syn/
and blasphemny shalbe foryeven vnto men/but the blasphemy
ayēst the holy goost/shall not be foryeven vnto men. And
whosoever speaketh a worde ayenst the sōne of mā / it shalbe
foryeven him: but whosoever speaketh ayenst the holy goost/
it shall not be foryeven him: no/nether in this worlde / nether
in the worlde to come.

Mat.
xij.
Lu. xi.
Lu. xij.

¶ Other make the tree good / and his frute goode also / or elſe make the tree evyll / ⁊ hys frute evyll alſo. For the tree is knowen by hys frute. O generaciō of viperſ / howe can ye ſaye weſe / when ye yourſelves are evyll: for of the aboundaunce of the herte the mouth ſpeaketh. A good man out of the good treaſure of hys herte / bryngeth forth goodethyngs. And an evyll mā out of his evyll treaſure bryngeth forth evyll thynges. But I ſaye vnto you / that of every ydyll worde / that men ſhall have ſpoke / they ſhall geve accōpt / at the daye of iudgemēt. For by thy wordes thou ſhalt be iuſtified: and by thy wordes thou ſhalt be condemned.

¶ The anſweryd certaynge of the ſcryb / ⁊ of the phariſes ſayinge: Maſter / we wolde ſayne ſe a ſygne of the. He answered the ſaynge. the evyll and aduoutrous generaciō ſeketh a ſygne / but there ſhall no ſygne be geve vnto them / but the ſygne of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was iij dayes / ⁊ iij nyghtes / i the whaallſ belly: ſo ſhall the ſone of mā be iij dayes and iij nyghtes i the herte of the erth. The mē of ninivyte ſhall ryſe at the daye of iudgment / with thys nacion / and cōdēpne them: for they repented at the preachinge of Jonas. And beſholde a greater then Jonas ys here. The quene of the ſouth ſhall ryſe at the daye of iudgment with this generacion / and ſhall cōdēpne them: for ſhe cam from the vmoſte parties of the worlde / to heare the wyſdom of Solomon. And beholde here ys a greater then Solomon.

¶ When the vnclene ſprite is gone out of a man / he walketh throughout drewe places / ſekyngereceſt / and ſyndeth none. Then he ſayth: I wyll returne ageyne into my houſſe / from whence I cam out. And when he is come / he ſyndeth the houſſe emptye / and ſwept / and garnyſhed. Then he goeth his waye / and taketh. viij. ſpiritſ worſſe then him ſylfe / and ſo enter they in and dwell there. And the ende of that mā is worſſe then the begynnyng. Even ſo ſhall it be to this ſrowerd nacion.

¶ Whyll he yet talked vnto the people: beholde / hys mother and hys brethre ſtode with out the dores / deſyryng to ſpeake with him. Then won ſayde vnto him: beholde thy mother and thy brethre ſtode with out / deſyryng to ſpeake with the

in the worlde to coſme / Marke ſayth: he is in daunger off eternall dānacion.

* A viper ys after the māer of an adder. and ys a worme moſt full of poyſon.

Here may ye ſe that at wordes ⁊ dedes declare outwardly what amā ys with yn / and are witneſſes with hym or agaynſt hym / but neither make him good nor bad / as the frute declareth what the tree ys / but maketh it neither good nor bad.

The gospel.

He answered and seide to hym that tolde hym: Who ys my mother/or who are my bretheren: And he stretched forth his honde over his disciples/and sayde: Beholde my morber and my bretheren. For whosoever fulfilleth my fathers wyll/whiche ys in heven/he ys my brother/my suster/and my mother.

The xiiij. Chapter.

The same daye went Iesus mar. iiii.
Luc. viii. out of the housse/and satt by the see syde/and moche people resorted vnto him/so gretly that he wāt and sat in a shyppe/and all the people stode on the shoore. And he spake many thyngs to them in similitude/sayinge: beholde / the sower went forth to sowe / and as he soweth/some fell by the wayes syde/ & the sowell cā / and devoured it vppe. Some fell upon stony grounde where it had not moche erth/and anon it spronge vppe/be cause it had no depth of erth: and when the sun was vppe / hit caught heet / and for lacke of rotyng wyddred awaye. Some fell amonge thornes / and the thornes arose / and chooked it. Parte fell in goode grounde / and broght forth good frute: some an hundred fold/some fyfty fold/some thyrty folde. Whosoever hath eares to heare/let him heare.

¶ And hys disciples cam / and sayde to him: Why speakest thou to them in parables? he answered and saide vnto them: Hit is geven vnto yow to knowe the secretts of the kyngdome of heven/ but to them it is nott geven. For whosoever hath/to him shall hit be geven: and he shall haue aboundance. mat. xxi. But whosoever hath nott: from him shalbe takyn a waye evē that same that he hath. Therefore speake I to them in similitude: For though they se/they se nott: and hearinge they heare not: nether vnderstonde. And in them ys fulfilled isa. vi. the prophesy of esay/which prophesi sayth: with youre eares ye shall heare/and shall not vnderstode/ and with youre eyes ye shall se/and shall not perceave. For this peoples hert ys

He that hath. where the worde of god is vnderstode / the more hit multiplieth & maketh the poeple better. where hit is not vnderstode / the more hit decreaseth & maketh the poeple worse.

were grosse: And ther eares wer dull of hearynge/ and ther eyes have they closed / lest they shulde se with there eyes/ and heare with there eares/ and shulde vnderstonde with there hertes/ and shulde cōurne/ that y myght heale them.

¶ But blessed ar youre eyes/ for they se/ and youre eares / for they heare. Verely I saye vnto you / that many prophetes and persaite men have desired to se tho thinges which ye se/ have not sene them: and to heare tho thinges which ye heare/ and have not herde then. Heare ye therefore the similirude of the sower. When a mā heareth the worde of the kyngdome/ and vnderstonde it not: there cometh the evyll mā/ and catcheth awaye that which was sowne in hys herte. And this is he which was sowne by the waye syde. But he that was sowne in the stony grounde/ ys he/ which hearith the worde of god/ and anon with ioye receaveth it/ yet hath he no roottes in him selfe/ and therefore he dureth but a season: for as soone as tribulacion or persecucion aryseth be cause of the worde/ by= anby he fallith. He that was sowne amonge thornes/ ys he/ that hearith the worde of god / but the care of this worde/ and the dysaytfulnes of ryches choke the worde / and so ys he made vnfrutfull. He which is sowne in the good grounde/ ys he/ that hearith the worde and vnderstonde it/ which also berith frute / and brynge forth/ sum an hundred folde/ sum fiftie folde/ and sum thyrty folde.

¶ Another similirude put he forth / vnto them sayinge. The kyngedome of heven ys lyke vnto a man which sowed good seede in his felde. But whyll men slepte / there cam his soe/ and sowed tares amonge the wheate/ and wēt is waye. When the blade was spronge vp/ and had brought forth frute/ then appeared the tares also. The servaunt cam to the housholder/ and sayde vnto him. Syr sowedest not thou good seede in thy closse/ from whence then hath it tares? He sayde to them / the envious man hath done this. Then the servaunt sayde vnto him: wylt thou then that we go and gedder it? and he sayde/ naye/ lest whyll ye go aboute to weede out the tares/ ye plucke uppe also with the wheate by the roottes: let bothe growe to gyther tyll harvest cum/ and in tyme of harvest/ I wyll sa=

The seed ys sowne
i the grounde & the
grounde ys sowne
with the worde of
god.

Tares & cockle are
weedes that growe
amonge coine.

The Gospell. of

*Mustarde seed.
 Therre is not so si-
 mple a thyng i the
 worlde/ or more de-
 spised/ then the gos-
 pell/ 2 yett yt saveth
 ad iustifieth the th-
 at beleve there on/
 the lawe 2 the wo-
 rkes doeth it nor.

Leven. beroke/
 neth the gospell al/
 so: for yt chaungeth
 a man vnto a newe
 nature.

*Treasure hyd ys
 the gospell/ which
 geveth vs grace ad
 ryghtwefnes wch
 out oure deservynge
 therefore we fynde
 it ad make ioye and
 have a mery conci-
 ence/ a thyng that
 no man cā obteyne
 with workes.

ye vnto my repers/ gadther ye fyrst the tares / and bynde the
 in sheves to be brent: but gadther the wheete in to my barn.

¶ Another parable he putt forth vnto them sayinge. The
 kyngedome of heven ys lyke vnto a grayne of * mustard seede/
 whych a man taketh and soweth in hys felde / whych ys the
 leest of all seedes. But when it is growne/ it is the greatest a-
 mōge yerbes/ and is a tree: so that the bryddes of the aier co-
 me/ and bylde in te braunches of it.

¶ Another similitude saide he to them. The kyngdome of heve
 ys lyke vnto Leven which a woman toke and hydde in iij
 peckes of meele/ tyll all was lewend.

¶ All these thynges spake iesus vnto the people by similitude /
 and with oute similitude / spake he nothyng to them / to ful-
 fyll that which was spoken by the prophet sayinge: I wyll o-
 pen my mouth in similitude / and wyll speake forth thynges
 whych have bene kepte secreete from the begynnyng off the
 worlde.

psal.
 lxxv.

¶ Then sent Iesus the people awaye/ and cam to housse / and
 hys disciples cā vnto him/ sayinge: declare vnto vs the simi-
 litude of the tares of the felde: Then answered he and sayde
 to them. Get that soweth the good seed / ys the sonne of man/
 the felde ys the worlde. The chyldren of the kyngedome are
 the good seed. The evyll mans chyldren are the tares. But the
 enemy which soweth it/ is the devyll. The harvest ys the ende
 of the worlde/ and the repers be the angells. For even as the
 tares are gaddred/ and brent in the fyre: so shall it be in the
 ende of this worlde. The sonne of mā shall sende forth his an-
 gells / 2 they shall gadther out of his kyngdō all thinges that
 do hurte/ and all them which do iniquite/ and shall cast the in-
 to a furnes of fyre. There shall be waylynge and gnasshyng of
 teth. Then shall the iuste men shyne as bryght as the sun in
 the kyngdome of there farther. whosoever hath eares to heare/
 leth in heare.

¶ Agayne the kyngedome of heven is lyke vnto * treasure hyd
 in the felde/ the which a mā founde and hydde it: and for ioy
 there of goeth 2 selleth all that he hath / and byeth that felde.

¶ Agayne/ the kyngdome of heven ys lyke vnto a marchaunt/

setyng after good pearles which whē he had founde one precious pearle / went and solde all that he had / & bought it / ¶ Ageyne / the kyngdom off heven is lyke vnto a nett cast in to the see / that gaddreth of all kyndes of fysshes: the which whē it is full / mē drawe to lōde / and sit and gadre the good into there vessels / and cast the bad awaye. So shall it be at the ende of the worlde. The angels shall come and sever the bad from the good / and shall cast them into a furnes of fyre / there shall be waylynge and gnasshyng of teth.

¶ The pearle is also the evāgelion.

¶ Jesus sayde vnto them: have ye vnderstonde all these thyngs: they saide ye syr. Then sayde he vnto them: Therfore every scribe which is conyng vnto the kyngdom of hevē / is lyke an housholder / which bryngeth forth / out of hys treasure / thyngs bothe * newe and olde.

* Olde / the lawe.
Newe / the gospell / or evāgelion.

Mar.
vi.

¶ And hyt cam to passe whē Jesus had synnessed these synnilitude / that he departed thence / and cam into his awne countre / and taught in there synagoggs / in so moche that they were astunyed / and saide: whence cā alle this wysdō and power vnto him: is not this the carpēters sōne: is not hys mother called mary: and hys brethren be called / James and Joseph and Symon and Judas: and are not hys systers all here with vs: whence hath he all these thyngs: And they were hurte by him. Thē Jesus sayde vnto them: there is no prophet with out honoure / save in hys awne countre / and amōge hys awne kynne. And he dyd nōt many myracles there for there unbelifes sake.

Mar.
vi.
Luc. iij.

The xiiij. Chapter.



¶ At that tyme Herode the tetrarcha herde of the fame of Jesu / and sayde vnto hys servaunt: This ys Jhon baptist / he ys risen ageyne frō deeth / and there fore hys power ys so greate. For herode roke Jhon and bounde hym / and putt hym in prison for herodias sake / hys brother Phillippys wyffe: For Jhon sayde vnto hym / hit ys nōt lawfull for the to have her. And when he wolde have putt hym to deeth

Tetrarcha / ys he that hath rule over the fourth parte of a realme. Jure with her pertenaunce was the devyded ito iiij lordships.

The Gospell of

he feared the people/ he cause they counted him as a prophet. Lu. xviij.

¶ When herodys byrth daye was come the doughter of herodias daunsyd before them/ and pleasyd herode. Wherefore he promysyd with an othe / that he wolde geve her what soeuer she wolde axe. And she beyng enformed off her mother before/ sayde yeve me here Jhs baptisf beed in a platter. And the kynge sorowed: neverthelesse for his othes sake/ & for there fakes which satt also at the table/ he comanded hit to be geve her. And sent and bebedded Jhon in the preson: and his beed was brought in a platter. and yeven to the damsell/ and she brought hit to her mother. And his disciples cam/ and toke vpppe hys body/ and buryed hit: And went and tolde Jesus.

¶ When Jhesus had herd that/ he departed thence bys hypppe into a desert place oute of the waye. And when the people had herde thereof / they folowde him a fore out of there cites. And Jesus went forth and sawe moche people: and his herte dyde melte vppon the/ and he healed of them those that were sick. When even was cum/ his disciples cam to him sayinge. This ys a desert place/ and the daye is spent/ let the people departe that they maye go in to the tounes/ and bey them vyttayll.

But Jesus sayde ynto them. They have no neade to go awa: mar. vi.
ye: Geve ye them to eate. Then sayde they vnto him: we have Luce. ix.
here but. v. loves/ and two fysshes. He sayde/ brynge them Jhon. vi.
hydther to me. And he comaunded / the people to syt downe on the grasfe/ and toke the. v. loves/ and the. ij. fysshes / and lokyd vppe to heven/ and blessed/ and brake/ and gave the loves to hys disciples/ and the disciples gave the to the people. And they all ate / and wer suffysed. And they gadred vppe of the gobbett? that remayned xij basket? full. They that ate wer m nūbre aboute. v. M. men/ besydes women and and chysore.

¶ And streyght waye Jesus made hys disciples entre in to a shippe/ and to go over before him/ whyll he sentt the people awaye. And as soone as he had sentt the people awaye/ he went vp in to amounntayne alone to praye. And when nyght was cum/ he was there hime sylfe alone. and the shyppe was in the mydd? of the see / and was toost with waves / for hit mar. vi.
was a cōtraye wynde. * In the iij. watche of the nyght Jes Jhon. vi.

*watche.
The nyght in the olde tyme was divided into iij quarters/ and too every parte was geveyn in houres.

Jo. vi.
Mar.
vi. **I**esus cam vnto them/ walkynge on the see: and when hys disci-
ples sawe him walkynge on the see/ they were amased/ sayin-
ge: it is some spirite/ and cryed out for feare. And streyght wa-
ye Iesus spake vnto them saynge: be of good cheare / it is y / be
nott a frayed.

Peter answered/ and saide: master/ and thou be he/ bidde me
come vnto the on the water. And he saide come. And whē Pe-
ter was come doune out of the shyppe/ he walked on the wa-
ter/ to go to Iesus. But when he sawe a myghty wynde/ he
was afrayed/ And as he begā to synke/ he cryed sayinge: ma-
ster save me. And immediatly Iesus stretched forth hys hon-
de/ and caught him/ and saide to him: O thou of lytell sayth:
wherfore dydest thou dout? And as sone as they were co-
me in to the shyppe / the wynde ceased. Then they that were
in the shyppe cam and worshipped him / sayinge: of a truth
thou arte the sonne of god. And when they were come over/
they went in to the londe of gynazareth. And when the mē off
that place had knowledge of him/ they sent out in to all thar
countre rounde about / and brought vn to him all that were
sicke/ and besought him/ that they myght touche the border
of hys vesture only. And as many as touched hytt / wer ma-
de safe.

The xv. Chapter.

Mar.
viiij **W**hen cam to Iesus: scribes
and pharyses from Ierusalē/ sayinge: why do thy
disciples transgresse the tradicions of the seniors?
for they wesshe not there hond?/ when they eate
breed. He an swered / and sayde vnto them: why do ye also
transgresse the comaundment of god/ thorowe youre tradici-
ons/ for god comaūded/ sayinge: honoure thy father and mo-
der / and he that speaketh evyll a yensst hys father or mother/
shall suffer deeth. But ye saye/ every man shall saye to hys fa-
ther or mother: whatsoever thyng I offer / that same doth
* profytt the/ and so shall he not honoure his father and mo-
ther. And thus have ye made/ that the comaundment of god

* Profytt. Marke
the leve off the ph-
arises. God wolde
that the sones shold
honoure hys father
z mother with hys
temporall good: ad
the pharises for th-
ere temporall lucre
interpreted yt sayng:
god is thy father ad
thy mother/ offer to
hym. So were the
pharises disshes ful
with robbery z extor-
cion/ z the povre fa-
thers and mothers
perish for hunger
and neede.

The Gospell of

is with out effecte/through youre tradicions. Ypocryt well prophesied of you/ say sayinge: This people draweth nye vnto me with there mouthe/2 honoreth me with there lyppes/ yet there herte is ferre frō me: but i wayne they worshippinge me teachinge doctryne/ which is nothyng but mens preceptes. ¶ And he called the people vnto him/ and sayde to them: heare and vnderstonde. That which goeth in to the mough/ defyleth not a man: but that which cometh out of the mough/ defyleth the man.

Tradicions of men
muske farle att the
last: godd word by
deth ever.

¶ Then cam hys disciples / and sayde vnto him: perceavest thou/ howe that the pharyses are offended hearinge thy sayinge: He answered/ and sayde: all plantes which my hevenly father hath nott planted / shalbe plucked vppe by the rotes. Lett the alone/ they be the blynde ledders of the blynde. If the blynde lede the blynde/ bothe shall fall into the dyche.

¶ The answered Peter and sayd to him: declare vnto vs this parable. Then sayde Iesus: are ye yett with onten vnderstonding: perceave ye nott/ that whatsoever goeth in at the mough/ descendeth doune in to the bely / and ys cast out in to the draught: But those thinge which procede out of the mough come from the herte/ and they dyffyle a man. For out of the herte come evyll thoughte / murder/ breakyng of wedlocke/ whordō/ theefte/ false witnes berynge/ blasphemie. These are the thinge which defyle a man. But to eate with vnwesshē handes/ defyleth nott a man.

¶ And Iesus went thence/ and departed into the cost of tire and sidon. And beholde a womā which was a cananyte cam out of the same coast/ and cryed vnto him/ sayinge: have mercy on me lordet he soñe of dauid/ my doughter is pytiously vexed with a devyll. And he gave her never a worde to answer. Then cam to him hys disciples / and besought him sayinge: sende her awaye / for she soloeth vs cryinge. He answered/ and sayde: I am nott sent/ but vnto the lost shepe of the housse of israhel. Then she cam and worshypped him/ sayinge: master sucke me: He answered and saide: it ys not good / to take the childrens bredd/ to cast it to whelpes. She answered and saide: it is truthe / neverthelesse the whelppes eate off the

crömes/which fall from there master stable. Then Iesus answered and sayde vnto her. O woman greate is thy sayth / be hit to the/even as thou desyrest. And her doughter was made whole even at that same tyme.

¶ Then Iesus went awaye from thence / and cam nye vnto the see of galyle/and went vppe in to a mountayne/and sat downe there. And moche people cam vnto hym havynge with them/halt/blynde/dönn/maymed/ and other many: and cast them doune at Iesus fete. And he healed them /in so moche that the people wondred /to se the dönn speake /the maymed whole /and the halt to go / the blynde to se/ and gloryfied the god of israhel.

*2^{Bar.} viij. ¶ Ihesus called his disciples to him and sayde: I have compassion on the people/be cause they have contynued with me nowe iij. dayes/and have nothinge to eate:and I wyll not let them departe fasting lest they peryshe in the waye. And his disciples said vnto him: whēce shuld we get so moche breed in the wylbernes as shulde suffyse so greate a multitude? and Iesus said vnto the: howe many loaves have ye? and they seyde: seve and a fewe fysshes. And he commaunded the people to syt doune on the grounde. and toke the seve loaves/and the fysshes and gave thankes/ and brake them/and gave to hys disciples/ and hys disciples gave the to the people. And they all ate/and were suffysed. and they toke vppe of the broke meate that was lefte vij. basket full. They that ate were iiii. M. men/ besyde wemen and chyl dren. And he sent awaye the people/and toke shyppe and cam in to the parties of magdala:

The xvi. Chapter.

2^{Bar.} viij. ^{Zuc.} ix. **W**hen cam to him the pharises with the saduces also /and dyd tepte him /desyringe that he wolde shewe the some sygne fro heven. He answered and saide vnto them: At even ye saye/we shall have sayre wedder. and that be cause the skye ys reed: zi the mornige: ye saye/to daye shalbe foule wedder/a ^{Zuc.} xij. that be cause the skye is trobelous and reed. O ye hypocrytes

G ii

The Gospell of

***Sygnes.**
The signes are ch/rist woderfull de/ades and miracles/which were proph/esied of befoze/that they shulde be done in Christes tyme.
Esaie xvi.

Peter i the gre/ke/ sygneth a stoune i egypte. This co/nfessio is the rocke. Howe is simo bar/tona/ or simo ionas sone/ called Peter / because of his cofe/ssio. whosoever thet his wyfe cofesseth of Christe/ the same is called Peter. no/ we is this cofession coe too all that are true christen. The ys every christe ma/ z woma peter. Re/de bede/ ault z hi/erō/ of the maner of lowsing z bynding and nore howe hie/ro checketh the pr/esumcio of the pha/rises i his tyme/ w/hich yet had nott so moſtrous interpret/acons as oure new goddes have feyned.
Reade erasmus an/oracions. hys was noo for nought th/ar Christ badd be/ware of the leuen of the pharises. noo th/

can discern the fassion of the sbye: and can ye not discern the
*sygnes of the tymes: The frowerde naciō/ and adroutrous/ sefeth a sygne: there shall no nother sygne be geven vn to the/ but the sygne of the prophet Jonas. So leste he them and de/parted.

¶ And when his disciples were come to the other syde of the water/ they had forgotten to take bread with them. The Je/sus said vnto them: Take hede and beware of the leuen of the pharises/ and of the saduces. They thought a monge them selves sayinge: we have brought no bread with vs. Whē Je/sus vnderstode that he saide vnto them. O ye of lytell sayth/ why are youre myndes cūbred because ye have brought no bred? Do ye not yet perceave/ nether remēber those v loves/ whē there were v. M. mē/ z howe many bastett toke ye vp? Nether the vii. loves/ whē there were iij. M. and howe ma/ny bastett toke ye vpper? why perceave ye not thē/ that y spa/ke not vnto you of bred / whē I sayde/ beware of the leuen of the pharises and of the saduces? Then vnderstode they/ howe that he bad nott them beware of the leuen of bred: butt off the doctryne of the pharises/ and of the saduces.

¶ Whē iesus cā in to the coast of the cite which is called cesa/rea philippi / he axed hys disciples sayinge : whom do men saye that I the sonne of man am? They saide/ some saye that thou arte Jhon baptyst/ some helyas/ some Jeremyas/ or wō of the prophett. He seyde vnto them/ butt whom saye ye that I am? Symon peter answered/ and sayde: Thou arte christ the soñe of the leuyng god. And Iesus answered z sayde to him: happy arte thou simon the soñe of Jonas/ for fleshe and bloud have not opened vnto the that/ but my fater which ys in heven. And I saye also vnto the / that thou arte **Peter**. And apon thys rocke I wyll hyld my cōgregation: and the gates of hell shall not preveyle a geynst it. And I wyll yee vnto the/ the keyes of the kyngdom of heven / and what soe/uer thou byndest vpon erth/ yt shall be bounde in heven. and what soe/uer thou lowfest on erth/ yt shall be lowfed in heve.

¶ Then he charged his disciples/ that they shulde tell no mā/ that he was Iesus christ. From that tyme forth/ Iesus begā

to shewe vnto his disciples/howe that he must go vnto Jeru-
salem/and suffer many thinge of the seniory/and of the hye pre-
stes/and of the scribes/and must be killed/and ryse againe the
thyrde daye. Peter toke him a syde/and began to rebuke hym
sayinge:master faver thy sylfe/this shall nott come vnto the.
Then turned he aboute/and sayde vnto peter:go after me sa-
tan/thou offendest me / because thou perceavest nott godly
tying: but worldly thinge.

¶ Jesus then sayde to hys disciples. Yf any man wyll solowe
me leet him forsake him sylfe/ and take his crosse and solowe
me. For who soever wyll save hys lyfe/shall lose yt. And who
soever shall lose hys lyfe for my sake / shall synde yt. What
shall hit proffert a man / yf he shulde wyn all the houle worlde:
so he lose hys owne soule: Or els what shall a man geve to re-
deme hys soule agayne with all: For the sonne of man shall co-
me in the glory of hys father/with hys angels/and the shall
be rewarde every mā accordinge to hys dedes. Verely I sa-
ye vnto you/some there be a monye them that here sitte/wh-
ych shall nott taste of deeth/tyll they shall have sene the so-
nne of man come in hys kyngdom/

ynge is so swete th-
at they make not so
wre with there tr-
adiciōs. The evā-
gelion/thar ioyfull
tidynges / ys now
biterer then the ol-
de lawe / Christes
burthē is hevier th-
en the yoke of mo-
ses/oure cōdiciō ad
estare ys ten tymes
more greivous then
was ever the iewes
The pharises have
so leveded Christes
swete breed.

¶ Yet soundeth yn
greke/away frō me
sathan/ and are the
same word which
Christe spake vnto
the devyll when he
woolde have had hi
to fall doune & wor-
shippe hym. luc. iij

The xxiij. Chapter.

Mat.
ix.
Luc. ix.



And after vi. dayes Jesus to-
ke Peter and James and Iohn hys brother/and
brought them vppe into an hye mountayne out
of the waye/and was transfigured before them.

and hys face dyd shyne as the sun/and hys clothes were as
whyte as the light. And beholde there appiered vnto the mo-
ses and helyas talkinge with him. Then answered peter/ and
saide to Jesus:master here is good beinge for vs. Yf thou wy-
lt leet vs make here iij. tabernacles/ won for the/and won for
moses/ and won for helyas. Whyll he yett spake / beholde a
bryght cloude shadowed them. and lo a voyce out of the clou-
de sayde: This is my deare sonne/in whō I delite/heare him.
And when the disciples herd that/they fell flatt on there fa-
ces/and were sore afrayde. And Jesus cam and touched the/

* Dedes. For the
dede testify what a
mā is inwarde/ the
tree shall be preyed
acordyng to hys
frute.

¶ Deeth. That is
whosoever beleve-
th o me shall not se
deeth. Jo. xij.

The Gospell of

and sayde: aryse and be not o frayde. The lystie they vppe the= re eyes/and sawe no man/but Iesus only.

¶ And as they cam doune from the mountayne /he charged them sayinge/se that ye shewe thys vysion to no man/tyll the sonne of man be rysen ageyne from deeth. And his disciples axed of him/sayinge: Why then saye the scribes/ that helyas muste fyrst come? Iesus answered/and sayde vnto them: helyas shall fyrst come/and restore all thinge. And I saye vnto you/that helyas is come all redy: And they knewe hym not/ but have done vnto him whatsoeuer they lusted. In lyke wyse shall also the sonne of mā suffre of them. The his disciples perceaved/that he spake vnto them of Ihon baptist.

¶ And when they wer come to ye people/there cā to him a certayne man/and kneled doune vnto him sayinge: master have mercy on my sonne/for he ys frantike/and is sore vexed. And ofte tymes fallerh in to the fyre/and ofte into the water/and y brought him to thy disciples/and they coulde not heale him. Iesus answered and sayde. O generation saythles/and crosked: howe longe shall I be with you? howe longe shall y suffer you? bynge him hydder to me. And Iesus rebuked the devyll/and he cam out. And the chyld was healed evē that same houre.

¶ Then cam hys disciples secretly and sayde: why coulde not we cast him out Iesus saide vnto them/be cause of youre vnbeleve. For I saye verely vnto you/yf ye had sayt he/ as a grayne of mustrade seed/ye shulde saye vnto thys mountayne/remeve hence to yonder place / and he shulde remeve: Neither shulde eny thinge be vnpossible for you to do. But this kynde/ goeth not out but by prayer and fastinge.

Stronge feyth requyeth fervent prayer/ & prayer requyeth fasting to subdue the bodye/ that lastes ynquyer not a mānes mynde.

¶ Whyll they passed the tyme in galile/ Iesus saide vnto the/ the sonne of man shalbe betrayed in to the bondes of me/and they shall kyl him/and the thyrde daye he shall ryse ageyne. And they sorowed greatly.

¶ Whenthey were come to capernaum. They that were wōre to gaddre poll mony/cam to Peter and saide: dorth youre master paye tributt: he sayde/ye. And when he was come in to the hōusse/ Iesus spake fyrst to him/sayinge: what thyntest

Mat. thou symon: of whom do the kyngs of the erthe take trybure/
ix. or poll money: of there chylde/ or of straungers: Peter sayde
Lu. xi. vnto him/ of straungers. Then saide Iesus to hym agayne.
 The ar the chyldeⁿ * fre. Nevertheless lest we shulde offende
 them/ go to the see and caste in thyn angyll/ and take the fyr-
 shet^har fyrst cometh vppe: and when thou hast opened his
 mouth/ thou shalt fynde apeece of xij. pence that take and pa-
 ye for me and the.

* Fre. Though
 Christ were fre yet
 gave he trybure for
 his neyghburs sake.
 So ys a christe mā
 fre i all thyng as p
 recyng to his aw/
 ne parte/ yett paye
 th he trybure & sub-
 mitteth hym selfe to
 all me/ for hy abiot
 hers sake/ too serve
 his brother withall

The xviij. Chapter.

Mat. **The same tyme the disciples**
ix. **Lu. ix.** cam to Iesus sayinge: who is the greatest in the
 kyngdem of heveⁿ. Iesus called a chylde vnto him/
 and set him in the mydd^e of them and sayde: Ve-
 rely I say evnto you/ excepte ye tourne/ and become as chil-
 dre/ ye cā not entre in to the kyngdō of heveⁿ: whosoever there-
 fore: shall submyt him selfe: as thys chylde/ he ys the grea-
 test in the kyngdom of heaven. And whosoever receaveth in-
 che a chylde in my name / receaveth me. But whosoever
Mat. offende wone of these lytellons/ which beleve in me: it were
ix. better for him / that a myllstone were hanged aboute his
Lu. xviij. necke/ and that he were drowned in the depth of the see. Wo
 be vnto the worlde be cause of evyll occasions. It is neces-
 sary that evyll occasions be geven/ nevertheless wo be to that
 man/ by whom evyll occasion cometh. Wherefore ys thy ho-
 nde/ or thy fore / geve the an occasion of evyll: cut him off/
 and cast him from the. Bit is better for the to entre in to ly-
 fe halt or maymed/ rather then thou shuldest haveinge .ij. ho-
 des or .ij. fete/ be caste in to everlastinge fyre. And ys also thy
 ne eye offend the/ plucke him out and cast him from the. it is
Lu. xv. beter for the / to entre in to lyfe with won eye / them haveinge
 ij. eyes to be caste in to hell fyre.

¶ Se that ye despise not won of these lityll wons. For I sa-
 ye vnto you/ that in heveⁿ there angels beholde the face of my
 father/ which is i heveⁿ. Ye and the son of mā is come to save
 that which is loste. Howe thynke ye. Yf a mā had an hōdred

[illegible]

on hym/and to ke hi by the throte/sayinge: paye that thou owest. And his felowe fell doune/and besought hym/sayinge: have patience with me/and I wyll paye the all.and he wolde not/but went and cast him in to prison/tyll he shulde paye the det. When his other felowes sawe what was done /they were very sory/and cā 2 tolde vnto there lorde all that had hapened. Thē the lorde called hym/and saide vnto hym. O ceryll servaunt/I forgave the all that det/be cause thou praydest me: Was it not mete also/that thou shuldest have hadde compassion no thy felowe/even as I had pytte on thet and his lorde was wrooth/ and delyred hym to the Joylers /tyll he shulde paye all that was due to hym. So lyke wyse shall youre hevenly father do vnto you/yf ye wyll not forgeve with youre hertt/ each won to his brother there trespasses.

The xix. Chapter.

Mat. x
Lu. xvi.



And hyt folowed: when Jesus hadde fynysshede those sayings/ he gat hym from galile/ and cā in to the coast of ierury beyōde Jor-
dan/ and moche people felowed hym/ and he healyd them there.

Then cam vnto him the pharises to tempte hym/ and saide to hym: Ye hit lawfull for a man to putt a waye his wyse for all māner of causes? He answered/ and sayde vnto the. Have ye not redde/ howe that he which made mā at the begynnynge/ made them man and woman? and saide: for thys thinge/ shall a mā leve father and mother / and cleve vnto hys wyse/ and they shalbe won flesshe. Wherfore nowe are they / but wō flesshe. Let not man therefore put a sun-
dyd god hath cuppled to gydder. Then sayde they vnto moyses comaunde to geve vnto her a testi-
fymēt/ and to put her a waye? He sayde vnto
cause of the * hardnes of youre hertt/ suffered
ye youre wyves: But from the begynnynge hit
I saye therefore vnto you/ whosoever putterh

*Hardnes. Lawes
pmitt 2 suffer many
thyngs/ to avoyde a
worlde inconvenience
which god will su-
dge 2 purgyshe.

B

The gospel of

shepe/and w^o of them shulde go astrye/wyll he nott leve nynty and nyne in the mou^tayns / and go and se^t that w^o which is gone astraye: yf hit happē that he fynde him/ verely I saye vnto you/ he rcioyseth more of that shepe/thē of the nynty and nyne/which went nott astraye. Even so hit is nott the wyll off youre father in heven / that won off this litle wons shulde perishe.

¶ More over yf thy brother trespas ayenst the. Go and tell him his faut bitwene him and the alone. Yf he heare the/thou hast wone thy brother: butt if he heare the nott then take with the i. or. ii. that in the mowth of ii. or. iii. witneses/ all sayings maye stonde. Yf he heare not them/tell hit vnto the cōgregacion. yf he heare nott the congregacion/take him as an hetten man and as a publican. Verely I saye vnto you whatsoeuer ye bynde on erth/shalbe bounde in heven. And what soeuer ye lose on erth/shalbe losed in heven.

Here all bynde and loose.

¶ Agayn I saye vnto you that if ii of you shall agre in erth in eny maner thinge what soeuer they spall desyre: hit shalbe geuen them of my fader which is in heven. For where ii or iii are gaddred to gydder in my name/there am I in the myddes off them.

¶ Then cam peter to him/and sayde: master / howe ofte shall my brother trespas ageynst me / and I shall foryeeve hym: shall I forgeve him vii. tymes? Iesus sayd vnto him: I saye not vnto the vii. tymes: butt sevynty tymes sevynty tymes. There fore is the kyngdom of heven lyfined vnto a certayne kyng/ which wolde take a count of his seruaunt? / and whē he had begune to reckon/ won was brought vnto him/which ought him ten thousande talent: but when he had nought to paye/the lorde comaunded him to be solde/and his wyffe / and his children: and all that he had / and payment to be made. The seruaunt fell downe and besought him sayinge: Syr/ yeeve me respyte/and I wyll paye hit every whyt. Then had the lorde pytte on the seruaunt/and lowsed him and forgave him the debt.

¶ The same seruaunt went out and founde wone of his felowes/which ought him an hundred pence. And leyde bond

on hym/and to ke hi by the throte/sayinge: paye that thou owest. And his felowe fell doune/and besought hym/sayinge: have pacience with me/and I wyll paye the all.and he wolde not/but went and cast him in to preson/tyll he shulde paye the det. When his other felowes sawe what was done /they were very sory/and cā 2 tolde vnto there lorde all that had hapened. The lorde called hym/and saide vnto hym. O myllservaunt/I forgave the all that det/be cause thou praydest me: Was it not mete also/that thou shuldest have hadde compassion no thy felowe/even as I had pytte on the? and his lorde was wrooth/and delyrred hym to the Joylers /tyll he shulde paye all that was due to hym. So lyfe wyse shall youre hevenly father do vnto you/yf ye wyll not forgeve with youre hertt/each won to his brother there trespasses.

The xix. Chapter.

Mat. x
Lu. xvi.



Ald hyt folowed: when Jesus hadde synnysshede those sayings/ he gat hym from galile/and cā in to the coast of iewry beyōde Jor-
dā/and moche people folowed him/and he healyd them there.

¶ Then cam vnto him the pharises to tempte hym/and saide to hym: Ye hit lawfull for a man to putt a waye his wyse for all māner of causes? He answered/and sayde vnto the. Have ye not redde/howe that he which made mā at the begynnynge/made them man and woman? and saide: for thys thinge/
Gene. i. shall a mā leve father and mother / and cleve vnto hys wyse/
and ii. and they twayne shalbe won flesshe. Wherefore nowe are they not twayne/but wō flesshe. Let not man therefore put a sun-
der/that which god hath cuppled to gydder. Then sayde they
Deut. xxiij. to hym: why dyd moyses comaunde to geve vnto her a testi-
moniall of divorcēmēt/ and to put her a waye? He sayde vnto the: moyses be cause of the * hardnes of youre hertt suffred you to put awaye youre wyves: But from the begynnynge hit was not so. I saye therefore vnto you/whosoever putteth

*Hardnes. Lawes pmitte 2 suffer many thynges/to avoyde a worse inconvenience which god will su-
dge 2 purgyshe.

B

The Gospell of

awaye his wyffe (excepte hit be for fornicacion) and maryeth another / breaketh wedlocke. And whosoever marieth her which is divorced / doth comyt advourtry.

¶ The spake his disciples to him: yf the matter be so betwene mā and wyffe / then ys it not good to mary. He saide vnto the: all men cannot awaye with that sayinge: but they to whom it is geve. there are chaste / which were so borne out of the mothers belly. And there are chaste / which be made chaste of mē. And there be chaste / which have made the * selves chaste for the kyngdom of hevens sake. Be that cā take it lett him take it.

¶ Then were brought to hym yonge chyl dren / that he shulde put his hond on the and praye. and his disciples rebuffed the. Jesus sayde vnto them: suffre the chyl dre / and forbide the not to come to me / for vnto suche belongeth the kyngdō of heven. And when he had put his hond on the / he departed thence.

¶ And beholde wō cā / and saide vnto him: good master / what good thigge shall I do / that I maye have eternall lyfe. He sayde vnto him: why callest thou me I good: there is none good but wō / and that is god. But thou wilt entre in to lyfe / kepe the cōmaundmēt. He saide: Which. And Jesus saide: thou shalt not kyll. thou shalt not breake wedlocke. thou shalt not stele: thou shalt not bere falce witnes. honoure thy father and mother. and thou shalt love thine neghbonr as thy sylfe: the yonge man sayde vnto hym: I have observed all these thinges from my yuth / what have y more to do: Jesus said vnto him: yf thou wylt be * perfecte / go and sell that thou hast / and geve it to the povre / and thou shalt have treasure in hevē / and come and folowe me: When the yōge mā herde that sayinge / he went awaye mornyng. for he had greate possessions.

¶ Jesus saide then vnto his disciples: Verely I saye vnto you a ryche man shall with difficulte entre into the kyngdom of heven. And moreover I saye vnto you: it is easyer for a camel to go through the eye of a nedle / then for a ryche mā to entre into the kyngdom of heven. When hys disciples herde that / they were exceedingly amased / sayinge: whor then can be saved. Jesus behelde them / and sayde vnto them: with men thys ys vnpossyble / but with god all thinges are possyble.

* Selves. The thryde chastite muste be gostly vnderstōd that ys to saye voluntri chastyte / or els hyt were all wone with the seconde / which is ourwarde i the fleshe

¶ Good. As Christ speaketh Jo. viij my doctrine ys not my doctrine / even so sayich he here / y am not good / for he speaketh of his humanite / where with he ever leedeth ys to god.

* Perfectnes is properly the keynyng of gods cōmaundmēt therefore hit appiereth evidently that this man hadde not fulfilled goddes cōmaundmēt groundly / as he yet supposed. & that Christ declareth when he putterth forth vnto hym the right wōrke off the cōmaund

Mat. x. Lu. viij.

Mat. x. Luc. xviij.

Mat. x.
lu. xviiiij.

¶ Then answered peter / and sayde to hym: Beholde we ha-
ve forsaken all / and have folowed the: what shall we have
therefore? Jesus sayde vnto them: verely I saye vnto you/that
ye/which have folowed me in the secoude generacion (when
the sonne off man shall sit in the seate of his maeste) shall
sit also vppon xij. seat/and iudge the xij. trybs of israhel.
And whosoever forsaketh honse/or brethren/or sisters/or other
father / or mother/or wyfe/or chyl dren/ or lyvelod / for my
names sake/ the same shall receave an hundred foolde / and
shall inheryte everlastinge lyfe. Many that be fyrst/shal be last
and the laste/shal be fyrst.

ment / and iudgeth
that none of the ri-
che men can be saved
of whose nobre this
yonge mā was/ yet
shall all they be safe
that kepe god's cō-
maundment.

The xx. Chapter.



¶ Of the kyngdom of heven is
lyke vnto an housholder which went outerly in
the mornyng to hyre laborers in to his vyne-
yarde. And he agreed with the laborers for a pe-
ny a daye / and sent the in to his vynyarde. And he went out
about the thirde houre / and sawe other stondinge ydle in the
market place / and saide vnto them: go ye also in to my vyne
yarde / and whatsoever ys right / I wyll geve you. and they
went there waye. Agayne he went out about the vi. and ix.
houre / and dyd lyf wyse. And he went out about the eleventh
houre and founde other stondinge ydell / and saide vnto them
why stonde ye here all the daye ydel: they saide vnto hym: be-
cause no man hath hyred vs. He saide to them: go ye also in
to my vyne yarde / and whatsoever shal be ryght / that shall
ye receave.

¶ When even was come / the lord of the vyne yarde / saide
vnto his steward: call the laborers / and geve them there hy-
re / begynnynge att the last tyll thou comest to the fyrst. And
they which were hyred about the xi. houre / cam and recea-
ved every man a peny. Then cam the fyrst / supposinge that
they shulde receave more / and they lyfe wise receaved every
man a peny. And when they had receaved hit / they grude
ged agaynst the good man off the housse / sayinge: These

Seve a clocke wi-
th vs ys one with
thelewes / xi. is xij.
xij. is vi. att after
none is ix. / v. is xi.
with them / ad vi. is
eventyde.

¶

The gospel of

By this similitude
maye ye perceave th/
at no similitude ser/
veth throwgh out/
but su one thyng co/
teyned i the similit/
ude. As this lōge pa/
rable preyneth butt
here vnto / that we/
rke holy shall despi/
se wecke synners /
which same werke
holy shall not there
have ther rewarde
as these which co/
me fyrste have here
butt shall be reiecte /
pur awaye / becau/
se they challenge hit
of meritt / 7 nott of
mercy 7 grace.

* The cuppe signifi
eth the crosse / 7 su/
fferyng: but the fle/
she wolde be glori/
fied yer then crucifi/
ed / wolde be exal/
ted 7 lifte vp an hye
yer the cast doune.

laste have wroghe but won honre / and thou haste made them
equall vnto vs which have boorne the burthen and beate of
the daye.

¶ He answered to won of them / sayinghe: frende I do the no
wronge. dydest thou not agre with me for a peny? Take that
which is thy dutie / and go thy waye. I wyll geve vnto this
laste / as moche as to the. ys it not lawfull for me to do as me
lyste / with myne awne? Ys thyne eye evyll be cause I am
good? So the laste shalbe fyrst / and the fyrst shalbe laste.
For many are called / and fewe be chosen.

¶ And Iesus ascended to hierusalem / and toke the xij. disciples
aparte in the waye / and said to them: lo we go vpp to hier
usalem / and the sonne of man shalbe betrayed vnto the che
fe prest / and vnto the scribe / and thy shall condemne hym
to deeth / and shall delyver hym to the gentyle / to be mocked /
to be scourged / and to be crucified: and the iij. daye he shall
ryse agayne.

¶ Then cam to hym the mother of zebedeis chylde with her
sones / worshyppe him / 7 desirige a certayne thinge of him.
he saide vnto her: what wylt thou have? She saide vnto him:
graunte that these my two sonnes maye sitt / won on thy ri
ght honde / and the other on thy lyfte honde in thy kyngdom.
Iesus answered / 7 saide: ye wot not what ye axe. Are ye able
to drinke of the * cuppe that I shall drinke of? And to be bapty
sed with the baptem / that I shalbe bapty sed with? They an
swered to hym: that we are. He saide vnto them: ye shall dri
nke of my cuppe / and shalbe bapty sed with the baptem that
I shalbe bapty sed with all. But to sitt on my ryght honde / or
on my lyfte honde / ys not myne to geve you: but to them for
whom yt is prepayred of my fater.

¶ And wher he x. herde this / they desdayned att the ij. brethe
ren. But Iesus called them vnto hym / and saide: Ye knowe/
that the lord of the gentyle have domination over the / And
they that are greates / exercise power over them. Yt shall nott
be so amonge you: But whosoever wylbe greates amōge you /
let him be youre miste / and whosoever wylbe chiefe / lett hym
be youre seruaunt. Even as the sonne of man cam / not to be

Mar. x.
lu. xviij.

Mar. x.
Lu. xxiij.

mistred vnto/but to minister: and to geve hys lyfe for the redempcion of many.

Redeme/is to deli/
ver out off bondage

Bar. i.
lu. xxiij. And as they departed from hierico/moche people folowed him. And beholde/ij. blynde mē syttige by the way syde / whē they herde / that Iesus passed by / cryed sayunge: Master the
* some of dauid have mercy on vs. And the people rebuffed thē / be cause they shulde holde there peace: But they cryed the moare / sayinge: have mercy on vs master which arte the sonne of dauid. The Iesus stode styll / and called them / and said: what wyll ye that I shall do to you? they saide vnto hym: master / that oure eyes maye be opened. Iesus petyed thē / and touched there eyes. and immediatly there eyes receaved syght: And they folowed hym.

* Some of dauid.
As many as called
hym sone of dauid/
believed that he w:
as very messias th:
at grete pphete pro
myssed off god / whic
h shulde come and
redeme israhell / for
it was promysed that
messias shuld be da
vids sone.

The xxi. Chapter.

Bar. i.
xi.
Luc. ix.
3ho. xij. **When they drewe nye vnto hi^r**
Jerusalem / and were come to bethphage / vnto mo
unte olivete / thē sent Iesus ij. of his disciples / sa
yinge to them: Go into the tounce that lyeth over
agaynste you / and anon ye shall fynde an asse bounde / and her
colt with her / lose them and bryngte them vnto me. And if e
ny man saye ought vnto you / saye ye that youre master hath
meade of them / and streyght waye he wyll let thē go. All thys
was donne / to fulfyll that which was spoken by the prophet /
zaca. ix. sayinge: tell ye the doughter of sion: beholde thy kynge cometh
vnto the meke / syttinge vppō an asse and a colte / the soole of an
asse vsed to the yooke. The disciples wēt / and dyd as Iesus co
maunded them / and brought the asse and the colte / and put
on thē there clothes / and set hym there on. Many of the peo
ple spred there garmentt in the waye. other cut donne bra
nches from the trees / and sirawed them in the waye. Mores
over the people that wēt before / & they also that cā after cryed
sayinge: Hosiāna to the sonne of dauid. Blessed be he that
commeth in the name of the lord / hosianna in the hyest.

And when he was come in to hierusalem / all the cite was

* Hosiana / is as
much to sey as ock
helpe / or ock geve
good lucke & healt.

h
iij

The Gospell of

moved/sayinge: who vouchys? And the people saide: this ys
 Iesus the prophet of nazareth a cite of galile. And Iesus wēt
 in to the temple of god / and caste out all the that bought and
 solde in the temple/ And overthrew the tables of the mony
 chaungers/and the seate of the that solde doves. And saide to
 the: it is writen/myne housse shal be called the housse of pra-
 yer/ but ye have made it a den of theues. And the blynde and Esa. lvi.
 the halt cā to hym in the temple / and he healed them.

¶ When the chiefe preest and scribes sawe the marveylles
 that he dyd / and the chyl dren crying in the temple and say-
 inge/ hosianna to the sonne of dauid/ they despayned/ and say-
 de vnto hym: herest thou what these saye? Iesus saide vnto psal. viij.
 them: have ye never reed/ of the mouth of babby and sucke-
 ling? thou haste ordered prayse? And he leste them/ and went
 out of the cite vnto bethany/ and passed the tyme there.

¶ In the morninge as he returned in to the cite ageyne / he Mar. xi.
 hungred/ and spyed a fygge tree in the waye/ and cā to it/ and
 founde nothinge there on/ but leues only/ and said to it / never
 frute growe vnto the hence forward. And and the fygge tree
 wyddred a waye. And whē hys disciples sawe that/ they mar-
 velled sayinge: Howe sone is the fygge tree wyddred awa-
 ye? Iesus answered/ and saide vnto them: Verely I saye vnto
 you/ yf ye shall have faith/ and shall not dout/ ye shall not on-
 ly do that which ye have done to the fygge tree: but also yf ye
 shall saye vnto this mountayne/ take thy silfe a waye/ and cast
 thy selfe in to the see/ it shal be done. And what so ever thig ye
 shall axe in youre prayers yf ye beleve/ ye shall receave hit.

¶ And when he was come into the temple/ the chiefe preest and Mar. xi.
 the senior of the people cā vnto hym as he was teachyng/ and
 saide: by what auctorite doest thou these thinges? and who Luc. xx.
 gaveth this power? Iesus answered/ and saide vnto the: I
 also wyll axe of you a certayne questio/ which yf ye asoyle me/
 y in lyke wyse wyll tell you by what auctorite I do these thin-
 ges. Whence was the bapti of Iohn? from heaven/ or of men?
 And they thought in the selues/ sayinge/ yf we shall saye/ from
 heve/ he wyll saye vnto vs: why dyd ye not them beleve him?
 but and yf we shall saye of me / then feare we the people. For

all men helde Ihon as a prophet. And they answered Iesus/
and saide we cannot tell. Belyke wyse saide vnto the: nether
tell I you by what auctorite I do these things. Was saye ye to
thys: a certayne mā had ii. sonnes/ and cā to the elder sayinge:
go and worke to daye in my vyne yarde. he answered and sa-
yd/ I wyll not: but afterwarde repented and went. Then cam
he to the seconde/ and saide lyke wise/ and he answered 2 say-
de: I wyll syr: yet went he not. Whydder of these ii. fulfyllled
there fathers wyll? And they saide vnto hym/ the fyrst. Iesus
saide vnto them: verely y saye vnto you/ that the publicās and
the harlotys shall come into the kyngdom of god before you. *

Mar. **C** Herken another similitude. There was a certayne hous-
xij. holder/ whych set a vyneyarde/ and hedged it rounde about/
Luc xx. and made a vyn presse in it/ and bylde a towre/ and lette it out
to husbandmen / and went in to a straunge countre. And
when the tyme of the frute drewe neare/ he sent his serua-
untys to the husbandmē/ to receave the frute of it/ and the hus-
bandmen caught his seruants / and bet won / kyllled ano-
ther/ stoned another. Agayne he sent other seruants meo-
ther the fyrst / and they served them lyke wise. But last off
all/ he sente vnto them hys awne sonne/ sayinge: they wyll se-
are my sonne. When the husbandmen sawe hys sonne / they
sayde amonge them selves: Thys ys the heyre/ come on lett
vs kyll him / and lett vs take hys inherytaunce / to oure sel-
ues. And they caught hym and thrust hym out off the vy-
neyarde / and shlewe hym. When the lord off the vy-
neyarde commeth: what wyll he do with those husband-
men? They sayde vnto hym: he wyll evyll destroye those e-
vyll persons/ and wyll lette out hys vyneyarde vnto oother hus-
bandmen / whych shall deliuer hym hys frute att tymes co-
venant.

psal. **C** Iesus saide vnto them: dyd ye never reede in the scripturys/
croij. the same stone which the bylders refused/ is set i the pryncy-

* Ihon taught the
very waye vnto ri-
ghtewesnes: For he
interpreted the lawe
right/ and dampned
man 2 all his dedes:
rightewesnes / and
drew me vnto Ch-
rist/ to seeke true rig-
htewesnes/ thorow
mercy obteyned in
hys bloude.

The gospel of

* Fall. All must fall
or stöble at Christ/
some to there salu-
acion / some to there
damnacion.

pall parte of the corner. this was the lordes doinge / and yt ys
marvelous in oure eyes. Therfore saye I vnto yon / the kyng-
dom of god shalbe taken from you / and shalbe geuē to the gē-
tyls which shall brynge forth the frutes of it. And whosoever
shall * fall on thys stone / shalbe also broken. And whosoever
this stond shall fall oppon / he shall grynde hym to powder.
And when the chese preest^r and pharyses herde his similir^s
des they perceaved that he spake of them. And they went ab-
out to laye hond^s on hym / but they feared the people / becau-
se they counted hym as a prophet. And Jesus answered and
spake vnto them agayne / in similitudes / sayinge.

The xxii. Chapter.

The kyngdom of heven is ly^{Luc.}
rrriij.

ke vnto a certayne kyng / which maryed his son-
ne / and sentt forth hys seruaunt^s / to call thē that
were byd to the weddinge / and they wolde not co-
me. Ageyne he sentt forth other seruaunt^s / sayinge: tell them
which are bydden: Lo I have prepared my dynner / myne o-
xen and my fatling^s are fylled / and all thing^s are redy / come
vnto the maryage. They made light of it / and wēt there wa-
yes: won to his ferme place / another about his merchandy-
se. the remnaunt toke his seruaunt^s / and intreated them vn-
goodly / and slew them. When the kyng herde that / he was
wroth / and sentt forth his warryers and destroyed those mu-
rthres / and brent vppe there cite.

¶ Then saide he to his seruaunt^s: The weddinge was pres- 2^{Har}
pared: but they which were bydden thereto / were not wor- rii.
thy. Go ye therefore out in to the hye ways / and as many as 2^{Luc.rr.}
ye fynde / byd them to the mariage. The seruaunt^s went out
in to the wayes / and gaddred togedder as many as they cou-
lde fynde / booth good and bad / and the weddinge was fur-
nysshed with gest^s. The kyng cam in / to viset hys gest^s / and
spyed there a man which had not on a weddinge garment /
and sayde vnto hym: frēde / howe camyst thou in hydder / and

IN MATTHAEVM

De gloria ⁊ honore filij hominis LIBRI XIII.

DE GLORIFICATI-

one Trinitatis ⁊ processione spiritus sancti LIBRI IX.



¶ Apud foelicem Coloniam Anno salutis.
M, D, XXVI. Aeditio prima.

~~DEC 4 '57~~

